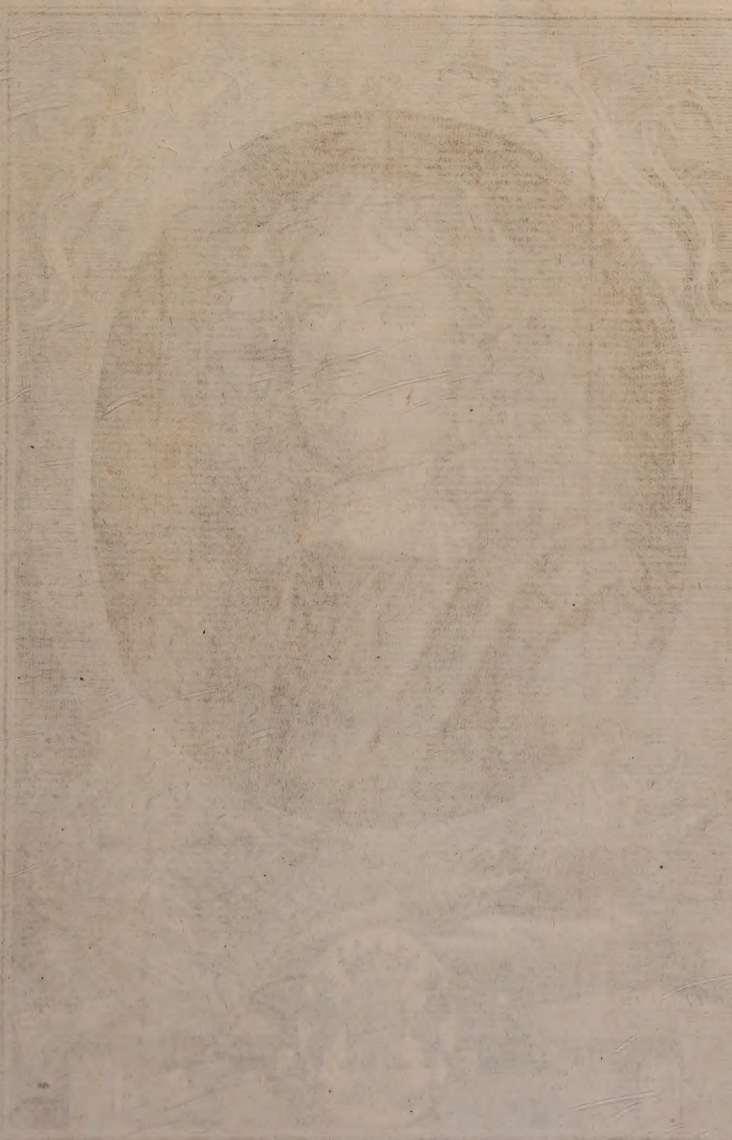

Edward Earle of CLARENDON Lord Hugh CHANCELLOR of England and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. An.° Dni. 1667.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable
EDWARD EARL of CLARENDON,
Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counſellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the Firſt and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. *Thucyd.*
Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME III. PART 2.

OXFORD,
Printed at the THEATER, *An. Dom.* MDCCXX.

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THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XIII.

Exod. IX. 16, 17.

And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to shew in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the Earth. As yet exaltest thou thy self against my People?

THE Marquis of *Argyle*, who did not believe that the King would ever have ventur'd into *Scotland* upon the conditions he had sent, was surprised with the account the Commissioners had given him, "That his Majesty resolv'd to "Embark the next day; that he would "leave all his Chaplains, and his other "Servants behind him, and only deferr'd to take the Covenant himself till he came thither, with a resolution to satisfy the Kirk if they press'd it. Thereupon he immediately dispatch'd away another Vessel with new Propositions, which the Commissioners were to insist upon, and not to consent to the King's coming into that Kingdom, without he likewise consented to those. But that Vessel met not with the King's Fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the Parliament, which attended to intercept the King, had held its course more Northward, where there are good Harbours; and so had put into a Harbour near *Sterlin*, that is, within a days Journey of it, but where there was no Town nearer than that for his Majesty's reception, or where there was any accommodation even for very ordinary Passengers. *Argyle sends new Propositions which miss'd the King.*

FROM thence notice was sent to the Council of the King's arrival: the first welcome he receiv'd, was a new demand "That he would sign the Covenant himself, before he set his foot *The King arrives in Scotland.*

The King takes the Covenant.

" foot on shore; which all about him press'd him to do: and he now found, that he had made haste thither upon very unskilful imaginations, and presumptions: yet he consented unto what they so imperiously required, that he might have leave to put himself into the hands of those who resolv'd nothing less than to serve him. The Lords of the other Party, who had prevailed with him to submit to all that had been required of him, quickly found that they had deceiv'd both Him and Themselves, and that no body had any authority but those Men who were their mortal Enemies. So that they would not expose themselves to be imprison'd, or to be removed from the King; but with his Majesty's leave, and having given him the best advice they could, what he should do for himself, and what he should do for Them, they put themselves on Shore before the King disembark'd; and found means to go to those places where they might be some time concealed, and which were like to be at distance enough from the King. And shortly after Duke *Hamilton* retired to the Island of *Arran*, which belonged to himself; where he had a little House well enough accommodated, the Island being for the most part inhabited with wild Beasts: *Lautherdale* concealed himself amongst his Friends; taking care both to be well inform'd of all that should pass about the King, and to receive their advice upon any occasions.

Hamilton and Lautherdale depart from the King.

Argyle receives the King.

THE King was receiv'd by the Marquis of *Argyle* with all the outward respect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the *English* Servants he had of any Quality, were remov'd from his Person, the Duke of *Buckingham* only excepted. The rest, for the most part, were receiv'd into the Houses, of some Persons of Honour, who liv'd at a distance from the Court, and were themselves under a cloud for their known Affections, and durst only attend the King to kiss his hand, and then retired to their Houses, that they might give no occasion of jealousy; others of his Servants were not suffer'd to remain in the Kingdom, but were forced presently to reimbark themselves for *Holland*; amongst which was *Daniel O Neile*, who hath been often mention'd before, and who came from the Marquis of *Ormond* into *Holland*, just when his Majesty was ready to Embark, and so waited upon him; and was no sooner known to be with his Majesty (as he was a Person very generally known) but he was apprehended by order from the Council, for being an *Irish* man, and having been in Arms on the late King's behalf in the late War; for which they were not without some discourse of putting him to death; but they did immediately banish him the Kingdom, and obliged him to sign a paper, by which he consented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the Kingdom.

Most of the King's English Servants remov'd from him.

Daniel O Neile apprehended by order of the Council of Scotland; and banish'd.

THEY

THEY sent away likewise Mr *Robert Long*, who was his Principal, not only, Secretary of State, and had very much perswaded his going thither; and Sr *Edward Walker*, who was Clerk of the Council, and had been Secretary at War during the late War, and some others, upon the like exceptions. They placed other Servants of all conditions about the King, but principally relied upon their Clergy; who were in such a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of instructing him in Religion: and so they obliged him to their constant hours of their long Prayers, and made him observe the *Sundays* with more rigour than the *Jews* accustom'd to do their Sabbath; and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days, and if his looks and gestures did not please them, whilst all their Prayers and Sermons, at which he was compelled to be present, were libels, and bitter invectives against all the Actions of his Father, the Idolatry of his Mother, and his own Malignity.

Mr Long also sent away.

Their Clergy always about the King.

Their Sermons before him.

HE was not present in their Councils, nor were the results thereof communicated to him; nor was he, in the least degree, communicated with, in any part of the Government; Yet they made great shew of outward Reverence to him, and even the Chaplains, when they used Rudeness and Barbarity in their reprehensions and reproaches, approached him still with bended knees, and in the humblest postures. There was never a better Courtier than *Argyle*; who used all possible address to make himself gracious to the King, entertain'd him with very pleasant discourses, with such insinuations, that the King did not only very well like his Conversation, but often believ'd that he had a mind to please and gratify him: but then, when his Majesty made any attempt to get some of his Servants about him, or to reconcile the two Factions, that the Kingdom might be united, he gather'd up his countenance, and retir'd from him, without ever yielding to any one Proposition that was made to him by his Majesty. In a word, the King's Table was well serv'd; there he sate in Majesty, waited upon with decency: he had good Horses to ride abroad to take the Air, and was then well attended; and, in all publick Appearances, seem'd to want nothing that was due to a great King. In all other respects, with reference to Power to oblige or gratify any Man, to dispose or order any thing, or himself to go to any other place than was assign'd to him, he had nothing of a Prince, but might very well be look'd upon as a Prisoner.

Argyle's behaviour to him.

BUT that which was of state and lustre made most noise, and was industriously transmitted into all Nations and States; the other of disrespect or restraint, was not communicated;

and if it could not be entirely conceal'd, it was consider'd only as a Faction between particular great Men, who contended to get the Power into their hands, that they might the more notoriously and eminently serve that Prince whom they all equally acknowledg'd. The King's Condition seem'd wonderfully advanced and his being possess'd of a Kingdom without a Rival, in which there was no appearance of an Enemy, look'd like an earnest for the Recovery of the other Two, and, for the present, as a great addition of Power to him in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, by a conjunction, and absolute Submission of all the *Scots* in *Ulster* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the King's Lieutenant there.

All Men who had diſſwaded his Majesty's repair into *Scotland*, were look'd upon as very weak Politicians, or as Men who opposed the Puplick good, because they were excluded, and might not be suffer'd to act any part in the adventure; and they who had advanced the design, valu'd themselves exceedingly upon their activity in that Service. The States of *Holland* thought they had merited much in suffering their Ships to Transport him, and so being ministerial to his greatness; which they hoped would be remember'd; and they gave all Countenance to the *Scotish* Merchants and Factors who liv'd in their Dominions, and some secret Credit, that they might send Arms and Ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the King's Service into that Kingdom. *France* it self look'd very chearfully upon the change; Congratulated the Queen with much Ceremony, and many Professions; and took pains to have it thought and believ'd, that they had had a share in the Counsel, and contributed very much to the reception the King found in *Scotland*, by their influence upon *Argyle* and his Party. And it hath been mention'd before, how great a Reputation this little dawning of Power, how clouded soever, gave to the Embassadours in *Spain*, and had raised them, from such a degree of disrespect, as was near to contempt, to the full dignity and estimation in that Court that was due to the Station in which they were.

There fell out there an accident at this time, which was a great manifestation of the Affection of that Court, and indeed of the Nation. As *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* had used all the Credit he had, to dispose that Court to a good correspondence with the Parliament, so he had employ'd as much care to encline those in *England* to have a confidence in the Affection of his Master, and assur'd them, "That if they would "send an Embassadour, or other Minister into *Spain*, he "should find a good reception. The Parliament, in the infancy of their Common-wealth, had more inclination to make a Friendship with *Spain* than with *France*, having at that time

time a very great prejudice to the Cardinal; and therefore, upon this encouragement from *Don Alonzo*, they resolv'd to send an Envoy to *Madrid*; and made choice of one *Ascham*, a Scholar, who had been concern'd in drawing up the King's Tryal, and had written a Book to determine in what time, and after how many years, the Allegiance which is due from Subjects to their Soveraigns, comes to be determin'd after a Conquest; and that, from that term, it ought to be paid to those who had subdued them: A speculation they thought fit to cherish. *Ascham sent Agent into Spain from the Parliament of England.*

THIS Man, unacquainted with business, and unskill'd in language, attended by three others, the one a Renegado *Franciscan* Fryar, who had been bred in *Spain*, and was well versed in the Language; another, who was to serve in the condition of a Secretary; and the third, an inferior Fellow for any Service, arriv'd all in *Spain* in an *English* Merchant's Ship: Of which *Don Alonzo* gave such timely notice, that he was receiv'd and entertain'd by the chief Magistrate at his landing, until they gave notice of it to the Court. The Town was quickly full of the rumour, that an Embassadour was Landed from *England*, and would be receiv'd there; which no body seem'd to be well pleased with. And the Embassadours expostulated with *Don Lewis de Haro* with some warmth, "That "his Catholick Majesty should be the first Christian Prince "that would receive an Embassadour from the odious, and "execrable Murders of a Christian King, his Brother and "Ally; which no other Prince had yet done, out of the de- "testation of that horrible Parricide: And therefore they de- sired him, "That *Spain* would not give so infamous an exam- "ple to the other parts of the World. *Don Lewis* assured them, "That there was no such thing as an Embassadour com- "ing from *England*, nor had the King any purpose to re- "ceive any: That it was true, they were inform'd that there was an *English* Gentleman Landed at *Cales*, and come to *Se- "vil*; who said, he was sent from the Parliament with Let- "ters for the King; which was testified by a Letter from "*Don Alonzo de Cardinas* to the Duke of *Medina Celi*; who "thereupon had given order for his Entertainment at *Sevil*, "till the King should give further Order: That it was not "possible for the King to refuse to receive the Letter, or to "see the Man who brought it; who pretended no kind of "Character: That having an Embassadour residing in *Eng- "land* to preserve the Trade and Commerce between the two "Nations, they did believe, that this Messenger might be "sent with some Propositions from the *English* Merchants for "the advancement of that Trade, and if they should refuse "to hear what he said, it might give a just offence, and de- *The Embassadours there expostulate with* Don Lewis *about it.* *His Answer.*

"stroy all the Commerce; which would be a great damage to "both Nations.

THAT this new Agent might come securely to *Madrid*, an old Officer of the Army was sent from *Sevil* to accompany him thither; who came with him in the Coach, and gave notice every night to *Don Lewis* of their advance. There were at that time, over and above the *English* Merchants, many Officers and Soldiers in *Madrid*, who had serv'd in the *Spanish* Armies, both in *Catalonia* and in *Portugal*; and these Men had consulted amongst themselves how they might kill this fellow who came as an Agent from the new Republick of *England*; and half a dozen of them, having notice of the day he was to come into the Town, which was generally discoursed of, rode out of the Town to meet him; but, missing him, they return'd again, and found that he had enter'd into it by another way; and having taken a view of his Lodging, they met again the next Morning; and finding accidentally, one of the Embassadours Servants in the streets, they perswaded him to go with them, and so went to the House where *Ascham* Lodged; and, without asking any Questions, walked directly up the stairs into his Chamber, leaving a couple of their number at the door of the street, left, upon any noise in the House, that door might be shut upon them. They who went up, drew their Swords; and besides their intentions, in disorder, kill'd the Fryar as well as the Agent; and so return'd to their Companions with their swords naked and bloody, and some foolish expressions of triumph, as if they had perform'd a very gallant and a justifiable Service. Notwithstanding all which, they might have dispersed themselves, and been secure, the People were so little concern'd to enquire what they had done. But they being in confusion, and retaining no composed thoughts about them, finding the door of a little Chapel open, went in thither for sanctuary: Only he who was in the Service of Embassadours, separated himself from the rest, and went into the House of the *Venetian* Embassadour. By this time the People of the House where the Man lay, had gone up into the Chamber; where they found two dead, and the other two crept, in a terrible fright, under the Bed; and the Magistrates and People were about the Church, and talking with, and examining the Persons who were there: and the Rumour was presently divulged about the Town, "That one of the *English* Embassadours was "kill'd.

Ascham kill'd by some Officers at his Lodgings in Madrid.

All but one fly to a Chapel for sanctuary; he, to the Venetian Embassadours.

THEY were at that time entring into their Coach to take the Air, according to an appointment which they had made the day before. When they were inform'd of what had passed, and that *Harry Progers*, who was their Servant, had been in the

the Action, and was retir'd to the House of the *Venetian* Embassadour, they were in trouble and perplexity; dismiss'd their Coach, and return'd to their Lodging. Though they abhorr'd the Action that was committed, they foresaw the presence of one of their own Servants in it, and even some passionate words they had used in their expostulation with *Don Lewis*, against the reception of such a Messenger, as if "The King "their Master had too many Subjects in that place, for such a "fellow to appear there with any security, would make it be "believ'd by many, that the attempt had not been made with- "out their consent or privity. In this trouble of mind, they immediately writ a Letter to *Don Lewis de Haro*, to express the sense they had of this unfortunate rash Action; "Of "which, they hoped, he did believe, if they had had any no- "tice or suspicion, they would have prevented it. *Don Lewis* return'd them a very dry Answer; "That he could not ima- "gine that they could have a hand in so foul an Assassina- "tion in the Court (for all *Madrid* is call'd, and look'd upon as the Court) "of a Person under the immediate Protection "of the King: However, that it was an Action so unheard "of, and so dishonourable to the King, that his Majesty was "resolv'd to have it examin'd to the bottom, and that exem- "plary Justice should be done upon the Offenders: That his "own Embassadour in *England* might be in great danger upon "this Murther; and that they would send an Express presently "thither to satisfy the Parliament how much his Catholick "Majesty detested, and was offended with it, and resolv'd to "do Justice upon it; and if his Embassadour underwent any "inconvenience There, they were not to wonder, if his Ma- "jesty were severe Here; and so left it to them to imagine that their own Persons might not be safe.

The Embassadours write to Don Lewis about this Action.

His Answer.

BUT they knew the temper of the Court too well, to have the least apprehension of that: yet they were a little surpriſed, when they first saw the Multitude of People gather'd together about their House, upon the first News of the Action; insomuch that the street before their House, which was the broadest in *Madrid* (the *Calle de Alcala*) was so throng'd that Men could hardly pass. But they were quickly out of that apprehension, being assured, that the jealousy that one of the *English* Embassadours had suffer'd Violence, had brought that Multitude together; which they found to be true; for they no sooner shew'd themselves in a Balcony to the People, but they saluted them with great kindness, pray'd for the King their Master, curs'd and reviled the Murtherers of his Father; and so departed. They who had betaken themselves to the Chapel, were, the next day or the second, taken from thence by a principal Officer after Examination, and sent to the Pri-

Those that fled to the Chapel are taken thence, and Impriſon'd; the other escapes into France.

ſon: the other was not inquir'd after; but, having conceal'd himſelf for ten or twelve days, he went out of the Town in the night; and, without any interruption or trouble, went into *France*.

Of all the Courts in Chriſtendom *Madrid* is that where Embaſſadours, and Publick Miniſters, receive the greateſt Reſpect, which, beſides the Honour and Punctuality of that People, bred up in the obſervation of diſtances and order, proceeds from the excellent method the Embaſſadours have of living with mutual reſpect towards each other, and in mutual concernment for each others Honour and Privileges: ſo that, if any Embaſſadour, in Himſelf or his Servants, receive any Affront or Diſreſpect, all the other Embaſſadours repair to him; and offer their Service, and Interpoſition, by which means they are not only preſerv'd from any Invaſion by any private and particular Inſolence, but even from ſome Acts of Power, which the Court it ſelf hath ſome time thought fit to exerciſe, upon an extraordinary occaſion, towards a Miniſter of whom they had no regard. All are united on the behalf of the Character; and will not ſuffer that to be done towards one, which by the conſequence, may reflect upon all.

It cannot be imagin'd, with what general compaſſion all the Embaſſadours look'd upon theſe unhappy Gentlemen, who had involv'd themſelves by their raſhneſs in ſo much peril. They came to the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours to Adviſe, and Conſult what might be done to preſerve them, every one offering his Aſſiſtance. The Action could in no degree be juſtified; all that could be urged and inſiſted upon in their behalf, was the Privilege of Sanctuary, "They had betaken "themſelves to the Church; and the taking them from thence, "by what Authority ſoever, was a violation of the Right and "Immunities of the Church, which, by the Laws of the King-"dom, was ever defended with all tenderneſs. So that be-"fore the guilt of the Blood could be examin'd, the Pri-"ſoners deſired that their Privilege might be examin'd and "that they might have Council aſſign'd them to that purpoſe; which were granted; and ſeveral Arguments were made upon the matter of Law before the Judges; who were favourable enough to the Priſoners. The King's Council urged, "That "in caſe of Aſſaſſination, the Privilege of Sanctuary was ne-"ver allow'd (which is true) and cited many Preſidents of late years in *Madrid* it ſelf, where for leſs Crimes than of Blood, Men had been taken out of the Sanctuary, and tried, and executed. The *Engliſh* Embaſſadours thought not fit to appear on their behalf, and yet were not willing that the new Republick ſhould receive ſo much Countenance from that Court, as would have reſulted from putting thoſe Gentlemen

to

to death as if they had kill'd a Publick Miniſter. The Pope's Nuntio, *Julio Roſpigliosi*, who was afterwards *Clement* the Ninth, could not according to the Style of the Roman Court, either give or receive Viſits from the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours: but they perform'd Civilities to each other by Meſſages, and paſſed mutual Salutations, with all reſpect to each other, as they met abroad. And the *Venetian* Embaſſadour brought them frequent aſſurances, "That the Nuntio had ſpoken very ef- "fectually to the King, and to *Don Lewis*, for the redelivery "of the Priſoners to the Church, and preſſed it ſo hard upon "the Conſcience of the King, that he had ſome promiſe that "they ſhould not ſuffer.

The Nuntio Roſpigliosi required them to be deliver'd back.

In the mean time, thundering Letters came from the Parliament, with great Menaces what they would do, if exemplary Juſtice was not inflicted upon thoſe who had Murder'd their Envoy; and *Don Alonzo* urged it, "as if "He thought "Himſelf in danger till full ſatisfaction ſhould be given in that "particular; all which for the preſent made deep impreſſion, ſo that they knew not what to do; the King often declaring "That he would not infringe the Privilege of the Church, and "ſo undergo the Cenſure of the Pope, for any advantage he "could receive with reference to any of his Dominions. In the end (that the diſcourſe of this Affair may not be reſum'd again hereafter) after a long Impriſonment (for during the Embaſſadours ſtay they would not bring them to any Trial, leſt they might ſeem to do any thing upon their ſollicitation) the Priſoners were proceeded againſt aſſoon, or ſhortly after the Embaſſadours had left *Madrid*, and were all condemn'd to dye; and aſſoon as the Sentence was declar'd, all the Priſoners were again deliver'd into the ſame Church; where they remain'd many days, having Proviſions of Victuals ſent to them by many Perſons of Quality, until they had all opportunity to make their Eſcape, which was very ſucceſsfully done by all but one; who, being the only Proteſtant amongſt them, was more maliciouſly look'd after and watch'd, and was follow'd, and apprehended after he had made three days Journey from *Madrid*, and carried back thither, and put to death: which was all the ſatisfaction the Parliament could obtain in that Affair; and is an inſtance, how far that People was from any Affection to thoſe of *England* in their Hearts, how much ſoever they comply'd with them out of the neceſſity of their Fortune.

The Iſſue of this buſineſs after the Embaſſadours departure.

When ſome weeks were paſſed after that unlucky accident, the Embaſſadours went to confer with *Don Lewis* upon ſome other occurrence, with no purpoſe of mentioning any thing of the Priſoners. *Don Lewis* ſpoke of it in a manner they did not expect, one expreſſion was "*Yo tengo invidia de*

"*eſtos*

"*estos, Cavaleros, &c.* I envy those Gentlemen for having "done so noble an Action, how penal soever it may prove "to them, to revenge the Blood of their King. Whereas, he said, "The King his Master wanted such resolute Subjects; "otherwise he would never have lost a Kingdom, as he had "done *Portugal*, for want of one brave Man; who, by taking "away the life of the Usurper, might at any time, during the "first two years, have put an end to that Rebellion.

To return now to the Affairs of *Scotland*: Whether when the Marquis of *Argyle* first knew that the King would venture himself into *Scotland*, he suspected his own strength, and so sent for his Friend *Cromwell* to assist them; or whether it seem'd more reasonable to the Parliament, when it was assured of the King's being there, to Visit him in that Kingdom, than to expect a Visit from him, is not enough clear at this time. But assoon as the King was in *Scotland*, *Cromwell*, being sent for by the Parliament, left what remain'd to be done in *Ireland* to *Ireton* (who had Married his Daughter) and made him Deputy; and transported himself into *England*; where the Parliament, not without great opposition from all the Presbyterian Party, resolv'd to send an Army into *Scotland*. Many opposed it, as they thought it an unjust and unprofitable War, and knew it must be a very expensive one; and others, because it would keep up and increase the Power and Authority of the Army in *England*; which was already found to be very grievous.

Cromwell sent for by the Parliament out of Ireland, leaves Ireton his Deputy.

The Parliament resolv'd to send an Army into Scotland.

This Resolution produced another great Alteration: *Fairfax*, who had hitherto worn the Name of General, declar'd positively that he would not Command the Army against *Scotland*. The Presbyterians said, "It was because he thought "the War unlawful, in regard it was against those of the same "Religion; but his Friends would have it believ'd, that he would not Fight against the King. Hereupon *Cromwell* was chosen General; which made no Alteration in the Army; which he had modell'd to his own mind before, and Commanded as absolutely. But in all other places he grew more absolute and more imperious; he discountenanced, and suppressed the Presbyterians in all places; who had been supported by *Fairfax*. The Independents had all Credit about him; and the Churches and Pulpits were open to all kind of People who would shew their Gifts there; and a general Distraction and Confusion in Religion cover'd the whole Kingdom; which raised as general a discontent in the minds of the People, who finding no ease from the Burthens they had so long sustain'd, but an increase of the Taxes and Impositions every day, grew weary of their new Government; and heartily pray'd, that their General might never return from *Scotland*,

Fairfax gives up his Commission.

Cromwell made General.

land, but that, he being deſtroy'd there, the King might return Victorious into *London*. The bitterneſs and perſecution againſt the Brethren in *England*, and the old Animoſity they had long borne againſt the Perſon of *Cromwell*, made thoſe in Authority in that Kingdom reſolve to defend themſelves againſt his Invaſion, and to draw together a very numerous Body of Men well provided, and ſupplied with all things neceſſary but Courage and Conduct. They were ſo careful in the Modelling this Army, that they ſuffer'd few or no Officers or Soldiers, who had been in the Engagement of Duke *Hamilton*, or who gave the leaſt occaſion to be ſuſpected to wiſh well to the King or to the *Hamiltonian* Party, to be liſted or receiv'd into their Service. So that they had only ſome old diſcredited Officers, who, being formerly thought unworthy of Command, had ſtuck cloſe to *Argyle* and to the Party of the Kirk. The truth is, the whole Army was under the Government of a Committee of the Kirk and the State; in which the Miniſters exerciſed the ſole Authority, and pray'd and preach'd againſt the Vices of the Court, and the Impiety and Tyranny of *Cromwell*, equally; and promiſed their Army Victory over the Enemy as poſitively, and in as confident terms, as if God himſelf had directed them to declare it. The King deſir'd that he might Command this Army, at leaſt run the Fortune of it. But they were hardly prevail'd with to give him leave once to ſee it; and, after he had been in it three or four hours, upon the obſervation that the Common Soldiers ſeem'd to be much pleas'd to ſee him, they cauſed him to return, and the next day carried him to a place at a greater diſtance from the Army; declaring, "That they found "the Soldiers too much inclin'd to put their Confidence in the "Arm of Fleſh; whereas their hope and dependence was to be only in God; and they were moſt aſſur'd of Victory by the "Prayers, and Piety of the Kirk.

The Scots raiſe an Army againſt him.

IN *July Cromwell* enter'd *Scotland*, and march'd without any oppoſition till he came within leſs than a days Journey of *Edenborough*; where he found the *Scotiſh* Army encamped upon a very advantageous ground; and he made his Quarters as near as he could conveniently, and yet with diſadvantages enough. For the Country was ſo deſtroyed behind him, and the Paſſes ſo guarded before, that he was compelled to ſend for all his Proviſion for Horſe and Foot from *England* by Sea; inſomuch as the Army was reduced to great ſtreights; and the *Scots* really believ'd, that they had them all at their Mercy, except ſuch as would Embark on board their Ships. But aſſoon as *Cromwell* had recover'd ſome Proviſions, his Army begun to remove, and ſeem'd to provide for their March. Whether that March was to retire out of ſo barren a Coun-

Cromwell enters Scotland.

Country for want of Proviſions (which no doubt were very ſcarce; and the Seaſon of the year would not permit them to depend upon all neceſſary Supplies by Sea, for it was now the Month of *September*) or whether that motion was only to draw the *Scots* from the advantageous poſt of which they were poſſeſſed, is not yet underſtood. But it was confeſſed on all ſides, that, if the *Scots* had remain'd within their Trenches, and ſent Parties of Horſe to have follow'd the *Engliſh* Army cloſely, they muſt have ſo diſorder'd them, that they would have left their Cannon, and all their heavy Carriage behind them, beſides the danger the Foot muſt have been in. But the *Scots* did not intend to part with them ſo eaſily; they doubted not but to have the Spoil of the whole Army. And therefore they no ſooner diſcern'd that the *Engliſh* were upon their march, but they decamped, and follow'd with their whole Body all the Night following, and found themſelves in the Morning within a ſmall diſtance of the Enemy: for *Cromwell* was quickly advertiſed that the *Scotiſh* Army was diſlodged, and marched after him; and thereupon he made a ſtand, and put his Men in good order. The *Scots* found they were not upon ſo clear a chaſe as they imagin'd, and placed themſelves again upon ſuch a ſide of a Hill, as they believ'd the *Engliſh* would not have the Courage to attack them there.

The diſtreſs of Cromwell's *Army.*

Cromwell *entirely routs the* Scots *in the Battle of* Dunbar.

BUT *Cromwell* knew them too well to fear them upon any ground, where there were no Trenches, or Fortifications to keep him from them; and therefore he made haſte to charge them on all ſides, upon what advantage-ground ſoever they ſtood. Their Horſe did not ſuſtain one Charge; but fled, and were purſued with a great execution. The Foot depended much upon their Miniſters, who preach'd, and pray'd, and aſſur'd them of the Victory, till the *Engliſh* were upon them; and ſome of their Preachers were knock'd in the head, whilſt they were promiſing the Victory. Though there was ſo little reſiſtance made, that *Cromwell* loſt very few Men by that days Service, yet the Execution was very terrible upon the Enemy; the whole Body of the Foot being, upon the matter, cut in pieces; no quarter was given till they were weary of killing; ſo that there were between five and ſix thouſand dead upon the place; and very few, but they who eſcaped by the heels of their Horſe, were without terrible wounds; of which very many died ſhortly after; eſpecially ſuch of their Miniſters who were not kill'd upon the place, as very many were, had very notable marks about the head, and the face, that any Body might know that they were not hurt by chance, or in the croud, but by very good will. All the Cannon, Ammunition, Carriages, and Baggage, were entirely

tirely taken, and *Cromwell* with his victorious Army march'd directly to *Edenborough*; where he found plenty of all things which he wanted, and good accommodation for the refreshing his Army, which stood in need of it. Cromwell enters Edenborough.

NEVER Victory was attended with less lamentations: for as *Cromwell* had great argument of Triumph in the total Defeat and destruction of the only Army that was in *Scotland*; which Defeat had put a great part of that Kingdom, and the chief City of it, under his Obedience; so the King, who was then at S^t *Johnston's*, was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a Body of his Enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his Majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a Prison the next day; which had been only a stricter confinement than he suffer'd already: For the Lord *Lorne*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Argyle*, being Captain of his Guard, had so watchful a care of him both night and day, that his Majesty could not go any whither without his leave. But, after this Defeat, they all look'd upon the King as one they might stand in need of: they permitted his Servants, who had been sequester'd from him from his Arrival in the Kingdom, to attend and wait upon him, and begun to talk of calling a Parliament, and of a time for the King's Coronation; which had not hitherto been spoken of. Some Ministers begun to Preach obedience to the King; the Officers, who had been cashier'd for their Malignity, talked aloud of "The miscarriages in the "Government, and that the Kingdom was betrayed to the "Enemy for want of confidence in the King, who alone "could preserve the Nation. They of the Council seem'd not to have so absolute a dependence upon the Marquis of *Argyle*, but spoke more freely than they had used to do; and the Marquis applied himself more to the King, and to those about him: so that the King did, in a good degree, enjoy the fruit of this victory, as well as *Cromwell*, though his Majesty's advantage was discern'd by a few Men only, and those reduced into an obscure quarter of the Kingdom; but the other made the *éclat*. The destruction of the only Army, and the possessing of *Edenborough*, was look'd upon, in all places, as the entire conquest of the whole Kingdom. *The King gets advantage by this.*

DON *Alonzo* made haste to send the News into *Spain* of "The total and irrecoverable defeat of the King, that he was "driven into the High-lands; from whence he would be "compell'd to fly, assoon as he could get means to escape: that "the Republick was now settled, and no more fear or hope "of the King: the effect of all which, the Embassadours quickly found at *Madrid*, by the carriage and countenance of that King and the Council; though it cannot be denied that the

the Common People appear'd to have a much more generous ſenſe of the Alteration, than the others did. The Embaſſadours receiv'd ſhortly a full advertiſement of the truth; and "that the King thought his condition much improv'd by the "defeat; and they uſed all the means they could, by ſeveral Audiences, to inform the King of *Spain* and *Don Lewis* of the truth; and "That they were misinform'd, as if the Army "overthrown was the King's; whereas they were indeed as "much his Enemies, as *Cromwell's* was. But in this they could obtain no credit, and all ways were taken to make them perceive, that it was heartily wiſh'd they were gone; which they were reſolv'd to take no notice of.

The Secretary of State brings a meſſage from the King of Spain to the Embaſſadours to deſire them to be gone.

In the end, one morning, the Secretary of State came to them from the King; and told them, "That they had been "now above a year in that Court, where they had been well "treated, notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages, which might "very juſtly have incenſed his Catholick Majeſty (mentioning the death of *Aſcham*) "That they were Extraordinary Embaſſadours, and ſo needed not any Letters of Revocation; "that they had receiv'd Anſwers to all they had propoſed, and "were at liberty to depart; which his Catholick Majeſty deſired they would do, ſince their preſence in the Court would "be very prejudicial to his Affairs. This unexpected and unuſual Meſſage, deliver'd ungracefully enough by an old Man, who, notwithſtanding his Office, was look'd upon with little reverence to his parts, made them believe "That he had "miſtaken his Meſſage, at leaſt that he had deliver'd it with "leſs Courtly circumſtances than he ought to have done. And therefore they return'd no other Anſwer, than "That they "would attend *Don Lewis de Haro*, and underſtand from Him "the King's pleaſure. The next day, they ſent for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; whom they found with a leſs open Countenance than he uſed to have; nor did he appear any thing more Courtly than the Secretary had done; but told them, that there were Orders ſent to ſuch a Perſon (whom he nam'd) to prepare their preſent; which ſhould be ready within very few days; and preſs'd them very plainly, and without any regard to the ſeaſon of the year, it being then towards the end of *January*, to uſe all poſſible expedition for their departure, as a thing that, even in that reſpect, did exceedingly concern the ſervice of the King. This made the Embaſſadours imagine, which was likewiſe reported, that there was a formal Embaſſadour upon his way from *England*, and that the Court would be no more liable to the like Accidents. But they knew afterwards, that the cauſe of all this haſte was, that they might bring into the Town as many Pictures, and other choice and rich Furniture, as did load eighteen Mules; which, as

They apply to Don Lewis.

The reaſon of their being preſt to depart Madrid in ſuch haſte.

was

was said before, *Don Alonzo* had bought of the King's goods, and then sent to *Groyne*, and which they did not then think could be decently brought to the Palace, whilst the Embassadours should continue and remain in the Town.

THIS injunction to leave *Madrid*, in so unseasonable a time of the year, was very severe to the Embassadours. The Lord *Cottington* was at this time seventy six years of Age, once or twice in a year troubled with the Gout, in other respects of great vigour of Body and Mind; nor did there appear in his natural parts any kind of decay. He had resolv'd, when he first proposed this Embassy to the King, and it may be, it was the chief reason of proposing it, that, if there should be no door open to let him return into *England*, by the time that his Embassy should expire, he would remain and die in *Spain*. But he did then believe, that he should have found another kind of Entertainment there than he had done. He had, without doubt deserv'd very well from that Nation, having always perform'd those Offices towards them which made him look'd upon at home as too well affected to that People, which, together with his constant opposition of the *French*, had render'd him very ungracious to the Queen: yet there were some seasons, in which his credit and authority was not great enough to obtain all things for them which they desir'd, and expected; as when their Fleet, under the command of *Oquendo*, about the year 1639, had been assaulted in the *Downs*, and defeated by the *Dutch* Fleet, for want of that protection which they thought the King might have given to them. And it is probable their Embassadours, who were then in *England*, whereof *Don Alonzo* was one, did not find that readiness and alacrity in him to appear in their service, as they had formerly done; he very well knowing, that the being sollicitous for them, in that conjuncture, might do Himself Harm, and could do Them no good. But these Omissions were now remember'd, and all his services forgotten: so that (as hath been touch'd before) his reception, from the first hour of his coming last thither, was very cold both from the King and the Court. And though he was now willing to resume his former resolution of staying there; yet the treatment he had receiv'd, and this last farewell, made him doubt, very reasonably, whether he should be permitted to stay there or not.

THERE was another circumstance, which was necessary to his residing in *Spain*, in which he met with some difficulties that he had not foreseen, and which did exceedingly perplex him; and which he plainly enough discern'd, and knew to be the true cause of all the discountenance he had met with in that Court (though he was willing the other Embassadour, who knew nothing of it, should believe that it proceeded from

from what had passed in *England*) which was then remember'd in the discourse of the Court, and was the true cause of the general prejudice to him there. He had been formerly reconciled in that Kingdom to the Church of *Rome*, and had constantly gone to the Mass there; and declaring himself afterwards in *England* to be of the Religion of the Church of *England*, he was Apostatiz'd from the other; which, in that Country, is look'd upon as such a Brand, as the infamy of it can never be wiped out; and this indeed was the reason of that King's so notable aversion from him. The truth is, he had never made any enquiry into Religion to inform himself, but had conform'd to that which the Province he held oblig'd him to; and though he could never get the reputation in *England* of being well affected to the Church, and was always look'd upon as most inclin'd to the *Roman*, yet he convinced those who would have taken advantage of that guilt, by being present at Prayers, and Sermons, and sometimes receiving the Sacrament as he did the very last *Sunday* he stay'd in the *Hague* before he begun his Journey towards *Spain*; and even after his arrival there, was constant at the reading the Common Prayers both Morning, and Evening, by their own Chaplain, in their House, as long as the Chaplain liv'd: and many, who knew him very well, did believe that if he had died in *England*, he would have died in the Communion of that Church. But there was no doubt, he did resolve, from the time that he meant to remain and die in *Spain*, that he would become a *Roman* Catholick again, which he thought to be a much easier thing than it was, and that he might have been reconciled by any Priest in as private a manner as he could desire. But when he consulted that affair with a Jesuit, who frequently came to the House, he found, that after an Apostacy, as they term'd it, it was not in the power of any Priest to reconcile him, but that it was reserv'd to the Pope himself, who rarely gives the faculty to any but to his own Nuntio's. This obliged him to resort thither; which he could not easily do without communicating it to the other Embassadour; towards whom this was the only secret he reserv'd. And he found a way, as he thought, to elude him in this particular. He told him, several days, that the Nuntio had sent him such and such Messages by that Jesuit concerning those Gentlemen, who were in Prison, the substance whereof did not differ from what the *Venetian* Embassadour had formerly deliver'd from him: at last, he told him, "That he found the "Nuntio had somewhat to say in that Affair which he would "not communicate by Message, but wish'd to speak with him "in private; for publickly he must not be known to have "any conference with him; and that hereupon he resolv'd to

go

"go *incognito* in S^r *Benjamin Wright's* Coach to him: which he did, and was then reconciled; and return'd home, making such a relation of their conferences to his Companion as he thought fit; and deliver'd the Nuntio's salutation to him. But within two or three days he knew what the Affair was: for, besides that the Nuntio could not perform the Office alone, but was to have the assistance of two or three so qualified, there was really care taken that the other Embassadour might know it. And, before that time, when they both visited the President *de la Hazienda*, who carried them into his Library, whilst the other Embassadour was casting his Eyes upon some Books (it being the best private Library in *Madrid*) the Lord *Cottington* told the President, "That he was "himself a Catholick, but that his Companion was an obsti- "nate Heretick: of which the President sent him information the next day. But since himself forbore ever to Communicate this secret to him, out of an opinion, it is very probable, that he might give some disturbance to his resolution, he likewise took no manner of notice of it to him to the minute of their parting.

THIS difficulty being over, there remain'd yet another; which was, his having permission to stay in that Country; for which he address'd himself to *Don Lewis*; mentioned "his Age; his infirmity of the Gout; which would infallibly "seize upon him, if, in that season of the year, he should pro- "voke it by an extraordinary Motion; in a word, that it "was impossible for him to make the Journey. *Don Lewis* told him, "He could answer him to part of what he said without "speaking to the King; that he must not think of staying "with the Character of an Embassadour, nor of residing in "*Madrid*, in how private a condition soever; if he desired "any thing with these two restraints, he would move the "King in it. The other told him, "That he submitted to both "these conditions; and only desired Licence to reside in *Val-* "*ladolid*, where he had liv'd many years, when the Court re- "main'd there, in the time of King *Philip* the third.

The Lord Cottington resolves to stay as a private Man in Spain.

THIS place was not dislik'd; and within few days, *Don Lewis* sent him word "That the King approv'd it; and that "he should have a Letter to the chief Magistrate there, to treat "him with all respect; and that his Majesty would take care "that he should not undergo any distress, but would supply "him as his necessities required. And, shortly after, a Mes- sage was sent to the Embassadours to let them know, that the King had appointed such a day for to give them an Audience to take their leave. This new importunity was as extraordinary as the former; however, they perform'd their Ceremonies; and about the beginning of *March*, after they had been

The Embassadours have Audience of leave.

in the Court near fifteen Months, they both left *Madrid* in the same hour: the Lord *Cottington* taking his Course for *Valladolid*; where he had the same House provided, and made ready for him by the care of the *English* Jesuits there, in which he had dwelt at the time of his Agency, when the Court resided there; where he died within one year after, in the 77th year of his Age.

The Lord Cottington lives at Valladolid till he dies.

His Character.

He was a very wise Man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any transport of Anger, or any other passion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way: for he was very steady in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a courage not to be frighted with any opposition. It is true he was illiterate as to the Grammar of any Language, or the principles of any Science, but by his perfectly understanding the *Spanish* (which he spoke as a *Spaniard*) the *French*, and *Italian* Languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said to be ignorant in any part of Learning, Divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the Nature of Beasts and Birds, and above all in all kind of Plantations and Arts of Husbandry. He was born a Gentleman both by Father and Mother, his Father having a pretty entire Seat near *Bruton* in *Somersetshire*, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had descended from Father to Son for many hundred years, and is still in the possession of his Elder Brother's Children, the Family having been always Roman Catholick. His Mother was a *Stafford*, nearly allied to Sr *Edward Stafford*; who was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth*, and had been Embassadour in *France*; by whom this Gentleman was brought up, and was Gentleman of his Horse, and left one of his Executors of his Will, and by him recommended to Sr *Robert Cecil*, then Principal Secretary of State; who preferr'd him to Sr *Charles Conwallis*, when he went Embassadour into *Spain*, in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*; where he remain'd, for the space of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of Secretary or Agent, without ever returning into *England* in all that time. He raised by his own Virtue and Industry a very fair Estate, of which, though the Revenue did not exceed above four thousand pounds by the year; yet he had four very good Houses, and three Parks, the value whereof was not reckon'd into that computation. He liv'd very Nobly, well serv'd, and attended in his House; had a better Stable of Horses, better provision for Sports (especially of Hawks, in which he took great delight, than most of his Quality, and liv'd always with great splendour; for though he lov'd Money very well, and did not warily enough

enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humour, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, cover'd the most of mirth, and caused more, than any Man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any Body ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make Men believe that he lov'd them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender Affections, nor Bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserv'd compassion. He was heartily weary of the world, and no Man was more willing to die; which is an Argument that he had peace of Conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his Parts, than love to his Person.

The other Embassadour dismiss'd very courteously.

THE other Embassadour was dismissed with much more Courtesy: for when they heard that his Family remain'd at *Antwerp* in *Flanders*, and that he intended to go thither, and stay there till he receiv'd other Orders from the King his Master, they gave him all dispatches thither which might be of use to him in those Parts. The King of *Spain* himself used many gracious Expressions to him at his last Audience, and sent afterwards to him a Letter for the Arch-Duke *Leopold*; in which he expressed the good opinion he had of the Embassadour; and commanded "That, whilst he should choose to reside in "those Parts, under his Government, he should receive all "Respect, and enjoy all Privileges as an Embassadour: and *Don Lewis de Haro* writ likewise to the Arch-Duke, and the Count of *Fuensaldagna*, "To look upon him as His particular "Friend: all which Ceremonies, though they cost them nothing, were of real benefit and advantage to the Embassadour: for besides the Treatment he receiv'd from the Arch-Duke himself in *Brussels*, as Embassadour, such directions, or recommendations, were sent to the Magistrates at *Antwerp*, that he enjoy'd the privilege of his Chappel, and all the *English*, who were numerous then in that City, repair'd thither with all freedom for their Devotion, and the exercise of their Religion: which liberty had never been before granted to any Man there, and which the *English*, and *Irish* Priests, and the Roman Catholicks of those Nations, exceedingly murmured at, and used all the Endeavours they could to have taken away, though in vain.

In his passage through France he waits on the Queen Mother.

IN his passage through *France* he waited upon the Queen Mother, who received him very graciously; and he found there, that the success which *Cromwell* had obtained in *Scotland* (though the King was still there, and in a better condition than before) had the same effect in the Court of *Spain*; it gave over all thoughts of the King, as in a con-

dition not only deplorable, but as absolutely desperate.

The Death of the Prince of Orange.

THERE had, a little before, fallen out an accident that troubled *France* very much, and no less pleased *Spain*; which was the death of the Prince of *Orange*; a young Prince of great hope and expectation, and of a Spirit that desir'd to be in Action. He had found, that the Peace between *Spain* and the Low-Countries, which his Father had been so sollicitous to make, even at his expiration, was not like to preserve him in equal lustre to what the three former Princes had enjoy'd; and therefore he wished nothing more, than that an opportunity might be offer'd to enter upon the War. He complain'd loudly, that the Court of *Spain* had not observ'd, nor perform'd, many of those Conditions which it was oblig'd to do for the particular benefit of him, and his Family: whereby he continued involv'd in many Debts, which were uneasy to him; and so, upon all occasions which fell out, he adher'd to that Party in the States which were known most to favour the Interest of *France*; which inclination the Cardinal, and the other Ministers of that Crown, used all possible care and endeavour to cultivate: and *Spain* was so much affected with the apprehension of the consequence of that alteration, and with the Conscience of their own having promoted it, by not having complied with their obligations, that they resolv'd to redeem their error, and to reconcile him again, if possible, to them. To this purpose, a very great present was prepar'd at *Madrid* to be sent to him, ten brave *Spanish* Horses, the worst of which cost there three hundred pounds Sterling, with many other rarities of great value, and likewise a present of Plate, Jewels, and perfum'd Leather, to the Princess Royal his Wife; and a full assurance, "That they would forth-"with begin to perform all the Articles which were to be "done by them, and finish all within a short time.

His Princess deliver'd of a Son shortly after.

THE Express, who was appointed to accompany the present, and to perform the other functions, was to begin his Journey within two days, when the News arriv'd, by an Express from *Brussels*, who came in as short a time as could be imagin'd, that the Prince of *Orange* was dead of the small Pox, and had left the Princess with Child, and very near her time; who was brought to bed of a Son within few days after his decease. The Court at *Madrid* could not conceal its joy, nor dissemble their opinion, that the Enemy whose influence they most apprehended, was fortunately taken out of the way. On the other hand, *France* own'd a great sorrow and grief for the loss of a Man whom they believed to be more than ordinary affected to them; and who, by a conjunction with their Friends in *Holland*, might in a short time, be much superior to that Party in the States which adher'd to the *Spanish* Interest.

BUT

BUT no Body receiv'd so insupportable prejudice, and damage, by this fatal blow, as the King of great *Britain* did; towards whom that brave Prince gave all the testimony and manifestation of the most entire, fast, and unshaking Affection and Friendship, that hath ever been perform'd towards any Person under any signal Misfortune. Besides the assisting him, upon several emergent occasions, with greater Sums of Money than were easy to his incumber'd Fortune, his Reputation, and his declar'd Resolution, "That he would venture all he "had in that Quarrel, disposed many to be more concern'd for his Majesty. Though he could not prevail over that Faction in *Holland*, which were known to favour *Cromwell*, (and the more out of their aversion to him, and to his Power and Greatness) to induce them to serve the King, yet he kept the States General from consenting to that infamous Alliance and Conjunction, which, shortly, after his death, they enter'd into with the new Republick; and which they would never have yielded to, if He had liv'd. And no doubt, the respect both *France* and *Spain* had for Him, and his Interposition, had prevail'd with both to be more restrain'd than they afterwards appear'd to be, in a total declining all consideration of the King, and rejecting all thoughts of his Restoration. It contributed very much to the negligent Farewel the Embassadours had receiv'd in *Spain*: For the news of the Prince's death had arriv'd there some time before their departure; and it did not only extinguish all imaginations in *France* of any possible hope for our King, but very much lessen'd the Respect and Civility, which that Court had always shew'd to the Queen her self, as a Daughter of *France*; towards whom they expressed not that regard they had formerly done.

The King lost a sure Friend in the Prince.

BUT there was another accident, which, at this time, gave the Queen more trouble than this; and of which her Majesty made great complaint to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at his return from *Spain*. Upon the Interview which had been between the King and the Queen at *Beauvais*, when the King went for *Holland*, upon the foresight, if not the resolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own Person into *Scotland*, he had left his Brother the Duke of *York* with the Queen, with direction "That he should conform himself en- "tirely to the will and pleasure of the Queen his Mother, "matters of Religion only excepted. And there was the less doubt of his conformity to her Commands, because, besides his Piety and Duty, which was very entire towards her, he was to depend wholly upon her Bounty for his Support; the Court of *France* not taking any notice of this increase of her expence, nor paying her own narrow assignation with any punctuality; so that she was not able, besides the reservedness

Touching the Duke of York left with the Queen.

in her Nature, so to supply him as to make his Condition pleasant to him; but exercised the same Austere Carriage towards him, which she had done to the Prince his Brother, and as unsuccessfully. The Duke was very young, with a numerous Family of his own, not well enough inclin'd to be contented, and consisting of Persons who lov'd not one another, nor their Master well enough to consider him before themselves: which wrought that effect upon him, that none of them had that Credit with him, that, at such an Age, some good Men ought to have had; which proceeded from want of reasonable providence and circumspection. For when he made his Escape out of *England* (as is mention'd before) he had only one Person attending him (who had, before no relation or pretence to his Service) whose Merit might have been otherwise requited, than by giving him a title and dependence upon him; and he quickly appear'd to be so unworthy of it, that he was remov'd from it. Then was the time that such Persons should have been placed about him, as might have both discover'd such infirmities, as his Nature might incline him to, and have infused those Principles of Virtue and Honour, as he was most capable of, and disposed to; and which had been as proper for his present Misfortune, as for his highest Dignity. But that province was wholly committed to the Queen his Mother by the late King, who was then in Prison; and her Majesty being then at *Paris*, when the Duke Landed in *Holland*, she could not deliberate so long upon it as such a subject requir'd; and so was perswaded by others to consider them more than her Son; and made haste to put such a Family about him, with reference to the Number, and to the Offices which they were design'd to serve in, as was above the greatness to which the younger Son of the Crown of *England* could pretend, by the Usage and Custom of that Kingdom, when it was in the greatest Splendour; and all this, when there was not in view the least Revenue to Support it, but that the whole Charge and Burden of it must inevitably fall upon Her; of which her Majesty 'was quickly sensible, and paid the penalty at least in the peace and quiet of her Mind.

The Duke was full of Spirit and Courage, and naturally lov'd designs, and desir'd to engage himself in some Action that might improve and advance the low Condition of the King his Brother; towards whom he had an inviolable Affection and Fidelity, superior to any Temptation. He was not pleased with the treatment he receiv'd in *France*, nor had confidence enough in any of his Servants, to be advised by them towards the contriving any expedient that he might reasonably dispose himself to, or to be dissuaded from any En-

terprise

terprise which his own Passion might suggest to him; though too many had too much Credit with him in contributing to his discontents, and in representing the uncomfortableness of his own Condition to him; "The little regard the Queen ap- "pear'd to have of him, the lustre that some of her Servants "liv'd in, and those who depended upon them, whilst his "Royal Highness wanted all that was necessary, and his Ser- "vants were exposed to the most scandalous necessities and "contempt; which suggestions, by degrees, began to abate that reverence in him to the Queen his Mother, to which he was very dutifully inclin'd.

THERE were at that time two Persons, who, though without any relation to the Court, very much frequented the Duke's Lodgings, and had frequent discourses with him, Sr *Edward Herbert*, and the late King's Attorney General (of whom much is said before) and Sr *George Ratcliff*, who had been design'd by that King to attend upon the Duke of *York* into *Ireland*, when he once thought of sending him thither. But that design being quickly laid aside, there was no more thought of using his Service there. The Duke look'd upon them both as Wise Men, and fit to give him advice; and finding that they both applied themselves to him with diligence, and address, he communicated his thoughts more freely to them than to any others. And they took pains to perswade him to dislike the Condition he was in, and that he might spend his time more to his advantage in some other place than in *France*. They spoke often to him of the Duke of *Lorraine*, "As a pattern and example for all unfortunate Princes to fol- "low: That he being, by the power and injustice of the King "of *France*, driven out of his Principality and Dominions, "had, by his own Virtue and Activity, put himself in the "head of an Army; by which he made himself so considerable "that he was Courted by both the Crowns of *France* and "*Spain*, and might make his Conditions with either accord- "ing to his own election; and in the mean time liv'd with "great Reputation, and in great Plenty, esteem'd by all the "World for his Courage and Conduct. With these, and the like discourses, the Duke was much pleased, and amused, and wish'd in himself that he could be put into such a Condition, when in truth there could not a more improper example have been proposed to him, whose Condition was more unlike his, or whose Fortune and Manners he was less to wish to follow, or less able to imitate. For the Duke of *Lorraine* had for many years before his Misfortunes, had a great name in War, and was look'd upon as one of the greatest Captains of *Christendom*; and had drawn the Arms and Power of *France* upon him, by his inconstancy, and adhering to *Spain*, contrary

Sr Edward Herbert *and* Sr G. Ratcliff *have great interest in him.*

They recommend to him the pattern of the Duke of Lorraine.

The Duke of Lorraine's *Character.*

to his Treaty and obligation with the other Crown; and when he was driven out of his own Country, and not able to defend it, he was in the head of a very good Army, and poſſeſſed of great wealth, which he carried with him, and could not but be very welcome, as he well knew, into *Flanders*, both as his Misfortune proceeded from his Affection to their King, and as his Forces were neceſſary for their defence. And ſo he made ſuch Conditions with them, as were moſt beneficial to himſelf, and yet, in the conſequence, ſo unſucceſful, as might well terrify all other Princes from treading in the ſame footſteps.

The King believ'd in France *to be dead.*

WITH the report of the defeat of that Army by *Cromwell* in *Scotland* (which was the firſt good fortune to the King) or ſhortly after, ſome Letters from *England* brought Intelligence, without any ground, that the King was dangerouſly Sick; and ſhortly after, that he was Dead; which was believ'd in *England*, and from thence tranſmitted into *France*. This gave a new Alarm to thoſe two Gentlemen mention'd before, who receiv'd this information from ſuch Friends in *England*, that they did really believe it to be true; and thereupon concluded, that both the place and the company would not be fit for the new King to be found in: and therefore that it would be neceſſary for him to remove from thence, before the report ſhould be confirm'd, and believ'd.

The Duke of York *acquaints his Mother that he will go to* Bruſſels; *whither he goes.*

WHETHER they imparted this nice conſideration to the Duke or not, his Highneſs, without any Preface or the Motives, told the Queen, "He was reſolv'd to make a Journey to "*Bruſſels*; who, being exceedingly ſurpriſed, ask'd him the reaſon; and "How he could be able to make ſuch a Journey? which ſhe in truth believ'd impoſſible for him, ſince ſhe knew he had no Money. His Anſwer in ſhort was, "That he would "viſit the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had been always a Friend "to his Father, and continued his Affection to the King his "Brother; and he had ſome reaſon to believe, that Duke "would enable him to appear in action, that might be for his "Majeſty's ſervice; and that he was reſolv'd to begin his Journey the next day; from which, neither the Queen's advice, nor Authority, could divert him. Her Majeſty quickly diſcern'd, that neither the Lord *Byron*, nor Sr *John Berkley*, nor Mr *Bennet*, his Secretary, knew any thing of it; and therefore eaſily concluded who the Counſellors were; who were both very ungracious to her, and ſhe had long done all ſhe could to leſſen the Duke's eſteem of them. They well foreſaw that the want of Money would be of that force, that, without any other difficulty, the Journey would be render'd impoſſible. They had therefore, upon their own credit, or out of their own ſtore, procur'd as much as would defray the Journey to *Bruſſels*;

Bruſſels; which by the Duke's directions, was put into the hands of Sr *George Ratcliff*, and to be managed by his providence and diſcretion. And then he publickly declar'd his reſolution to begin his Journey the next day for *Bruſſels*, leaving his Servants to make what ſhift they could to ſtay there, or follow him.

SINCE there was no remedy, the Queen thought it neceſſary that his chief Servants ſhould wait on him, that ſhe might receive an Account what progreſs he made, and what his deſign could be: ſo the Lord *Byron*, and Mr *Bennet*, made themſelves ready for the Journey; Sr *John Berkley* chooſing to ſtay behind, that he might not appear inferior where he had exerciſed the ſupreme Charge. And ſo, with the other two Counſellors, and many of the inferior Servants, the Duke according to his reſolution, left the Queen; and when he came to *Bruſſels*, he lodg'd at the Houſe of Sr *Henry de Vic* the King's Reſident, without being taken notice of by any of that Court. There the two Counſellors begun to form his Family, and to confer Offices upon thoſe who were moſt acceptable to them; preſuming that they ſhould ſhortly receive News from *England*, which would confirm all that they had done under other Titles. In the mean time the Government of the Houſe, and ordering the expence, was committed wholly to Sr *George Ratcliff*, whilſt the other contented himſelf with preſiding in the Councils, and directing all the politick deſigns. The Duke of *Lorraine* had viſited the Duke upon his firſt Arrival, and being inform'd of the ſtreights his Royal Highneſs was in, preſented him with one thouſand Piſtols. But now the ſecret ground of all their Counſels was found to be without any reality: the King was not only alive, and in good health, but known to be in the head of an Army that look'd *Cromwell* in the Face; which deſtroy'd all the Machine they had raiſed: yet, being too far Embark'd to retire with any grace, and being encouraged by the civility the Duke of *Lorraine* had ſhew'd towards the Duke, they had the preſumption to propoſe that there might be a Marriage between the Duke of *York*, and the Daughter of the Duke of *Lorraine* by the Counteſs of *Canteroy*; whom he had publickly Married, but which Marriage was declared at *Rome* to be void, by reaſon that his former Wife was ſtill alive.

His two Counſellors propoſe a Match for him with the Duke of Lorraine's Baſtard Daughter.

WHEN the Duke of *Lorraine* ſaw how the Affairs of this young Prince were conducted, and that the Lord *Byron*, and Mr *Bennet*, who were Men well bred, and able to have diſcourſed any buſineſs to him, one whereof was his Governour, and the other his Secretary, who by their Offices ought to be more truſted in an Affair of that moment, were not at all acquainted with it, and that the other two Perſons, who were

Men

Men of a very unusual mien, appear'd in it, and that only S^r *George Ratcliff* undertook to speak to him about it, who could only make himself understood in *Latin*, which the Duke cared not to speak in, he declin'd entertaining the motion, till he might know that it was made with the King's approbation; which the other did not pretend it to be, but "That he "did not doubt it would be afterwards approv'd by his Ma- "jesty. Thus they were at the end of their projects; and there being no means to stay longer at *Brussels*, they perswaded the Duke to visit his Sister at the *Hague*, and there to consider and advise what was next to be done.

The Duke visits his Sister at the Hague.

OF all these particulars the Queen complain'd to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with great bitterness against the folly and presumption of those two Gentlemen, whose fidelity to the King she did not suspect; nor could she imagine the motive that had engaged them in such a bold undertaking; but she requir'd him, "That assoon as he should come into *Flan-* "*ders*, he would make a Journey to the *Hague*, and prevail "with the Duke (to whom she writ to the same purpose) "To "return again to *Paris*; which the Chancellor promised to endeavour heartily to do, being exceedingly troubled at the general discourse, which that Sally had administer'd, as if there were a Schism in the Royal Family in a season when so much union was requisite.

THERE was another instance of the King's extreme low condition, and of the highest disrespect the Court of *France* could express towards him, and of which all the Protestant Party of the Queen's Family complain'd very vehemently. From the time of the Queen's being in *France*, the late King had appointed a Chaplain of his own, D^r *Cosins*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Durham*, to attend upon her Majesty for the constant service of that part of her Household, the number of her Protestant Servants being much superior to those who were Roman Catholicks. And the Queen had always punctually comply'd with the King's directions, and used the Chaplain very graciously, and assign'd him a competent support with the rest of her Servants. An under Room in the *Louvre*, out of any common passage, had been assign'd for their Morning and Evening Devotions; the Key whereof was committed to the Chaplain; who caused the Room to be decently furnish'd, and kept; being made use of to no other purpose. Here, when the Prince first came thither, and afterwards, whilst he stay'd, he perform'd his Devotions all the Week, but went *Sundays* still to the Residents House to hear Sermons. At this time an Order was sent from the Queen Regent, "That that Room should be no more apply'd to that "purpose, and that the *French* King would not permit the

D^r Cosins forbid to officiate to the Protestants in the Queen's Family at Paris.

"Exercise

"Exercise of any other Religion in any of his Houses than the "Roman Catholick: and the Queen gave notice to the Chaplain "That she was no longer able to continue the payment "of the Exhibition she had formerly assign'd to him. The Protestants, whereof many were the best Quality, lamented this Alteration to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and desired him to intercede with the Queen, which he had the more title to do, because, at his going into *Spain*, she had vouchsafed to promise him (upon some Rumours, of which he took notice) "That the same Privilege, which had been, "should still be continued, and enjoy'd by the Protestants of "her Houshold; and that she would provide for the Chaplain's "Subsistence. He presum'd therefore to speak with her Majesty upon it; and besought her to consider, "What ill im- "pression this new Order would make upon the Protestants "of all the King's Dominions; upon whom he was chiefly to "depend for his Restauration; and how much prejudice it "might be to her self, to be look'd upon as a greater Enemy "to Protestants, than she had been taken notice of to be; "and likewise whether this Order, which had been given "since the departure of the Duke of *York*, might not be made "use of as an excuse for his not returning, or indeed for his "going away at first, since the precise time when it issued, "would not be generally understood. The Queen heard him very graciously, and acknowledged "That what he said had "reason in it; but protested that she knew not what remedy "to apply to it; that she had been her self surprised with that "Order, and was troubled at it; but that the Queen Regent "was positive in it, and blamed her for want of Zeal in her "Religion; and that she cared not to advance it, or to con- "vert any of her Children. She wish'd him "To confer with "Mr *Mountague* upon it; and imply'd, "That His bigotry in "his new Religion, had contributed much to the procuring "that Order. He had newly taken Orders, and was become Priest in that Church, and had great power with the Queen Regent, as well for his Animosity against that Religion he Had professed, as for his vehement Zeal for the Church of which he now was. Upon this occasion, her Majesty expressed a great sense of the loss she had sustain'd by the death of her old Confessor, Father *Philips*; who, she said, "Was a "prudent and discreet Man; and would never suffer her to be "pressed to any passionate undertakings, under pretence of "doing good for Catholicks; and always told her, that as she "ought to continue firm and constant to her own Religion; "so she was to live well towards the Protestants, who deserv'd "well from her, and to whom she was beholding. She said, "it would not be possible to have the same or any other Room "set

The Chancellor speaks with the Queen about it.

The Queen's Answer.

"set aside, or allow'd to be used as a Chapel; but that she "would take such course, that the Family might meet for the "Exercise of their Devotion in some private Room that be- "long'd to their Lodgings, and that though her own Exhibi- "tion was so ill paid, that she was indebted to all her Ser- "vants, yet she would give order that Doctor *Cosins* (against "whom she had some personal exceptions) should receive his "Salary, in proportion with the rest of her Servants. She bid him "assure the Duke of *York*, that he should have a free Ex- "ercise of his Religion, as he had before though it must not "be in the same place.

The Chancellor confers with Mr Mountague about it.

THE Chancellor conferr'd with Mr *Mountague* upon the Subject; and offer'd the same reason which he had done to the Queen; which he look'd upon as of no moment; but said, "That the King of *France* was Master in his own House, "and he was resolv'd, though the King of *England* himself "should come thither again, never to permit any solemn ex- "ercise of the Protestant Religion in any House of his. The consideration of what the Protestants in *England* might think on this occasion, was of least moment to him; and it was in- deed the Common discourse there, "That the Protestants of the "Church of *England* could never do the King Service, but that "all his hopes must be in the Roman Catholicks, and the "Presbyterians; and that he ought to give all satisfaction "to both those Parties.

WHEN the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to *Antwerp*, with a purpose to make a Journey speedily to the *Hague*, he was inform'd, "That the States were much offended that the "Duke of *York* remain'd there; and therefore that the Princess "Royal (who now more depended upon their favour than ever; her own Joynture, as well as the fortune of her Son, being to be settled in their Judicatory) "could no longer en- "tertain him, but that he would be the next day at *Breda*.

The Chancellor finds the Duke of York at Breda; and the factions of the Duke's family there.

Thither the Chancellor immediately went; and found the Duke there with a Family in all the confusion imaginable, in present want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be done next. They all censur'd and reproach'd the Counsel by which they had been guided, and the Counsellors as bitterly inveigh'd against each other, for undertaking many things which had no foundation in truth. They who concurr'd in nothing else, were equally severe against the Atturney, as a Man of that intolerable pride that it was not possible for any Man to converse with him. He as frankly reproach'd them all with being Men of no parts, of no understanding, nor learning, no principles, and no resolution, and was so just to them all, as to contemn every Man of them alike. In truth he had render'd himself so grievous to them all, that there was

no

no Man who desired to be in his Company; yet by the knack of his talk, which was the most like reason without being it, he retain'd still too much credit with the Duke; who, being amused and confounded with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easily understood; and was himself so young, that he was rather delighted with the Journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not enter'd upon them with reason enough; and was fortified with a firm resolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. However, he was very glad to receive the Quen's Letter, which the Chancellor delivered to him; heard his advice very willingly, and resolv'd to begin his Journey to *Paris* without any delay; and looked upon the occasion, as a very seasonable redemption. The next day he went to *Antwerp*; and from thence, with the same retinue he had carried with him, made haste to *Paris*, and was receiv'd by the Queen his Mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might reasonably have expected; though her severity was the same towards all those, who, she thought, had had the credit and power to seduce him; and they were not sollicitous, by any Apologies or Confession, to recover her favour: for the true reason that had swayed them being not to be avow'd, any other that they could devise and suggest, would have render'd them more inexcusable.

The Duke returns to Paris to the Queen.

During this time, the King underwent all kind of Mortifications in *Scotland*. But after the defeat of the *Scotish* Army in *September*, with which the King and *Cromwell* were equally delighted, as hath been said before, the Marquis of *Argyle*'s Empire seem'd not to be so absolute. A new Army was appointed to be raised; the King himself interposed more than he had done; and the Noblemen and Officers came to him with more confidence; and his Majesty took upon him to complain and expostulate, when those things were done which he did not like: yet the Power was still in *Argyle*'s hands; who, under all the professions of Humility, exercised still the same Tyranny; insomuch as the King grew weary of his own Patience, and resolv'd to make some attempt to free himself. Dr *Frazier*, who had been the King's Physician many years before, and had constantly attended upon his Person, and very much contributed to the King's Journey into *Scotland*, was, shortly after his coming thither, disliked by *Argyle*; who knew that he was a Creature of the *Hamiltonians*, and found him to be of an unquiet and over-active Spirit; and thereupon sequestered him from his Attendance. There were many Officers who had served in Duke *Hamilton*'s Engagement, as *Middleton*, and others, who had very entire Affections for the King; and many of them had corresponded with *Moun-*

The King's affairs in Scotland.

Mountrose, and resolv'd to have joyn'd with him; and finding themselves excluded, as all of them were, from any Employment by the Power of *Argyle*, had retired into the Highlands, and remained there concealed in expectation of some good Season, in which they might avowedly appear. With some of these Dr *Frazier* had held correspondence whilst he was in the Court, and had often spoken to the King of their Affection, and readiness to serve him, and of their power to do it, and had returned his Majesty's gracious Acceptation of their Service, and his Resolution to employ them. And now not being himself suffer'd to come to the Court, he found means to meet and confer with many of them; and held Intelligence with the Lord *Lautherdale*, who had always great confidence in him; and the Officers undertaking to do more than they could, or the Doctor understanding them to undertake more than they did (for his Fidelity was never suspected) he gave the King such an Account of their Numbers, as well as Resolutions, that his Majesty appointed a day for their Rendezvous, and promised to be present with them, and then to publish a Declaration (which was likewise prepared) of the ill treatment he had endured, and against the Person of *Argyle*; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* gave himself wholely up, and imparted to him all this correspondence, having found some of the Letters which had passed, by the King's having left his Cabinet open; for he was not at all trusted in it.

The King withdraws towards the High-lands; which was called the Start.

But *Argyle* did not think the time so near; so that the King did prosecute this purpose so far, that he rode one day, with a dozen or twenty Horse, into the High-lands, and lodged there one night; neither the Marquis of *Argyle*, nor any Body else, knowing what was become of him; which put them all into great distraction. It was indeed a very empty and unprepared design, contriv'd and conducted by Dr *Frazier*, without any foundation to build upon; and might well have ruin'd the King. It was afterwards call'd the *Start*; yet it proved, contrary to the expectation of Wise Men, very much to his Majesty's advantage. For though he was compell'd the next day to return with a circumstance that seemed to have somewhat of Force in it (for as the Company he looked for failed to appear, so there was a Troop of Horse, which he looked not for, sent by *Argyle*, who used very effectual Instance with him to return) yet notwithstanding, this Declaration of his Majesty's resentment, together with the observation of what the people generally spoke upon it, "That "the King was not treated as he ought to be, made the Marquis of *Argyle* change his Counsels, and to be more sollicitous to satisfy the King. A Summons was sent out, in the King's name

But is perswaded to return the next day.

The King better used afterwards by Argyle.

A Parliament summon'd in the King's name.

name to call a Parliament; and great preparations were really made for the Coronation; and the Seaſon of the year againſt which *Cromwell* was ſecuring himſelf in *Edenborough*, and making Proviſions for his Army, the Winter coming on, and the ſtrong Paſſes which were eaſy then to be guarded, hindred the Enemies advance: ſo that the King reſided, ſometimes at *Sterling*, and ſometimes at St *Johnſton's*, with convenience enough. The Parliament met at *Sterling*, and ſhortly after brought all the Lords of the other Party thither, who appear'd to have credit enough to wipe off thoſe ſtains with which the Engagement had defaced them, yet with ſubmiſſion to ſtand publickly in the Stool of Repentance, acknowledging their former Tranſgreſſions; as they all did.

It meets at Sterling, and reconciles the Lords.

DUKE *Hamilton* and *Lautherdale* were welcome to the King, and neareſt his Confidence; which neither the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had caſt off their Friendſhip as unuſeful, nor the Marquis of *Argyle*, were pleaſed with. The King himſelf grew very Popular, and by his frequent conferences with the Knights and Burgeſſes, got any thing paſſed in the Parliament which he deſired. He cauſed many infamous Acts to be repeal'd, and provided for the raiſing an Army, whereof himſelf was General; and no exceptions were taken to thoſe Officers who had formerly ſerv'd the King his Father.

An Army raiſed, of which the King is General.

THE Coronation was paſſed with great Solemnity and Magnificence, all Men making ſhew of Joy, and of being united to ſerve his Majeſty: yet the Marquis of *Argyle* preſerv'd his greatneſs and intereſt ſo well, and was ſtill ſo conſiderable, that it was thought very expedient to raiſe an imagination in him, that the King had a purpoſe to Marry one of his Daughters; which was carried ſo far, that the King could no otherwiſe defend himſelf from it, than by ſending an Expreſs into *France* for the Queen his Mother's conſent (which ſeemed not to be doubted of) and to that purpoſe Captain *Titus*, a Perſon grateful to *Argyle*, and to all the Presbyterian Party, was ſent; who, finding the Queen leſs warm upon the Propoſition than was expected, made leſs haſte back; ſo that the Fate of *Scotland* was firſt determin'd.

The Coronation.

THE King's Army was as well modelled, and in as good a Condition as it was like to be whilſt he ſtayed in *Scotland*. By that time that *Cromwell* was ready to take the Field, his Majeſty was perſwaded to make *David Leſley* his Lieutenant General of the Army; who had very long experience, and a very good Name in War; and *Middleton* Commanded the Horſe. The Artillery was in very good order under the Command of *Wemmes*, who had not the worſe Reputation there for having been ungrateful to the King's Father. He was a confeſſed good Officer; and there were, or could be, very

very few Officers of any ſuperiour Command, but ſuch who had drawn their Swords againſt his late Majeſty; moſt of thoſe who had ſerv'd under the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, having been put to death. Many of the greateſt Noblemen had raiſed Regiments, or Troops; and all the young Gentlemen of the Kingdom appear'd very hearty and chearful in Commands, or Voluntiers: and, in all appearance, they ſeem'd a Body equal in any reſpect, and ſuperior in number, to the Enemy; which advanced all they could, and made it manifeſt that they deſir'd nothing more than to come to Battle; which was not thought Counſellable for the King's Army to engage in, except upon very notable Advantages; which they had reaſon every day to expect; for there was a very broad and a deep River between them; and if they kept the Paſſes, of which they were poſſeſſed, and could hardly chooſe but keep, *Cromwell* muſt in a very few days want Proviſions, and ſo be forced to retire, whilſt the King had plenty of all things which he ſtood in need of, and could, by the advantages of the Paſſes, be in his Rere aſſoon as he thought fit.

Cromwell endeavours to fight the King's Army.

Both Armies near each other in the Months of June *and* July.

In this poſture both Armies ſtood in view of each other near the two Months of *June*, and *July*, with ſome ſmall attempts upon each other, with equal Succeſs. About the end of *July*, by the cowardiſe or treachery of Major General *Brown*, who had a body of four thouſand Men to keep it, *Cromwell*'s Forces under *Lambert*, gain'd the Paſs, by which they got behind the King; and though they could not compel his Majeſty to fight, for there was ſtill the great River between them, they were poſſeſſed, or might quickly be, of the moſt fruitful part of the Country; and ſo would not only have ſufficient Proviſion for their own Army, but in a ſhort time would be able to cut off much of that which ſhould ſupply the King's. This was a great ſurpriſe to the King, and put him into new Counſels; and he did, with the unanimous Advice of almoſt all the principal Officers, and all thoſe who were admitted to the Council, take a reſolution worthy of his Courage; which, how unfortunate ſoever it prov'd, was evidence enough that the ſame misfortune would have fallen out if he had not taken it.

Cromwell gains a Paſs, and gets behind the King.

The King was now, by *Cromwell*'s putting himſelf behind him, much nearer to *England* than He: nor was it poſſible for him to overtake his Majeſty, in regard of the ways he was unavoidably to paſs, till after the King had been ſome days march before him: his Majeſty's fate depended upon the Succeſs of one Battle: for a poſſible Eſcape into the High-lands, after a Defeat, there was no Kingly proſpect: all the Northern parts of *England* had given him cauſe to believe that they were very well affected to his Service, and if he could reach

thoſe

thoſe Countries, he might preſume to encreaſe his Army, which was numerous enough, with an Addition of ſuch Men as would make it much more conſiderable. Hereupon, with the concurrence aforeſaid, it was reſolv'd that the Army ſhould immediately march, with as much Expedition as was poſſible, into *England*, by the neareſt ways, which led into *Lancaſhire*, whither the King ſent Expreſſes to give thoſe, of whom he expected much (by reaſon ſome of them had been in *Scotland* with him, with promiſe of large undertakings) notice of his purpoſe, that they might get their Soldiers together to receive him. His Majeſty ſent likewiſe an Expreſs to the Iſle of *Man*, where the Earl of *Derby* had ſecurely repos'd himſelf from the end of the former War, "That he ſhould "meet his Majeſty in *Lancaſhire*. The Marquis of *Argyle* was the only Man who diſſwaded his Majeſty's march into *England*, with reaſons which were not frivolous; but the contrary prevailed; and he ſtayed behind; and, when the King begun his march, retired to his Houſe in the High-lands. Some were of opinion, that he ſhould then have been made Priſoner, and left ſo ſecured that he might not be able to do miſchief when the King was gone, which moſt Men believ'd he would incline to. But his Majeſty would not conſent to it, becauſe he was confident "He would not attempt any thing "while the Army was entire: if it prevailed, he neither "would, nor could do any harm; and if it were defeated, it "would be no great matter what he did.

The King reſolves to march into England.

The Marquis of Argyle *only diſſwaded it, and ſtayed behind, and retired to his Houſe.*

THOUGH *Cromwell* was not frequently without good Intelligence what was done in the King's Army, and Councils, yet this laſt reſolution was conſulted with ſo great ſecrecy, and executed with that wonderful expedition, that the King had marched a whole day without his comprehending what the meaning was, and before he receiv'd the leaſt advertiſement of it. It was not a ſmall ſupriſe to him, nor was it eaſy for him to reſolve what to do. If he ſhould follow with his whole Army, all the Advantages he had got in *Scotland*, would be preſently loſt, and the whole Kingdom be again united in any new miſchief. If he followed but with part, he might be too weak when he overtook the King; whoſe Army he knew, would bear the fatigue of a long march better than His could do. There were two conſiderations which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible conſternation he foreſaw the Parliament would be in, when they heard that the King with his Army was nearer to them, than their own Army was for their defence; and he knew that he had Enemies enough to improve their fear, and to leſſen his Conduct: the other was, the Apprehenſion, that, if the King had time given to reſt in any place, he would infinitely en-

Cromwell's Reſolutions and Counſels upon this News.

creaſe and ſtrengthen his Army by the reſort of the People, as well as the Gentry and Nobility, from all parts. And though he did ſo much undervalue the *Scotiſh* Army, that he would have been glad to have found himſelf engaged with it, upon any inequality of Numbers, and diſadvantage of ground, yet he did believe, that, by a good mixture with *Engliſh*, they might be made very conſiderable. He took a very quick reſolution to provide for all the beſt he could: he diſpatched an Expreſs to the Parliament, to prevent their being ſuſpriſed with the News; and to aſſure them, "That he would himſelf "overtake the Enemy before they ſhould give them any trou- "ble; and gave ſuch farther Orders for drawing the Auxiliary Troops together in the ſeveral Countries, as he thought fit.

Orders Lambert to follow the King with a Body of Horſe.

He gave *Lambert* Order "Immediately to follow the King "with ſeven or eight hundred Horſe, and to draw as many "others, as he could from the Country Militia; and to di- "ſturb his Majeſty's march the moſt he could, by being near, "and obliging him to march cloſe; not engaging his own "Party in any ſharp Actions, without a very notorious advan- "tage; but to keep himſelf entire till he ſhould come up to "him. With this Order *Lambert* marched away the ſame day the Advertiſement came.

Leaves Monk in Scotland.

Cromwell reſolv'd then to leave Major General *Monk*, upon whom he look'd with moſt confidence, as an excellent Officer of Foot, and as entirely devoted to him, with a ſtrong Party of Foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe, ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs any Forces which ſhould riſe after his departure, "To "keep *Edenborough*, and the Harbour of *Leith*; to ſurpriſe "and apprehend as many of the Nobility, and conſiderable "Gentry, as he ſhould ſuſpect, and keep them under cuſto- "dy; to uſe the higheſt ſeverity againſt all who oppoſed him; "and, above all, not to endure or permit the Licence of the "Preachers in their Pulpits; and to make himſelf as formida- "ble as was poſſible: in the laſt place, that, aſſoon as there "appear'd no viſible force in the Field, he ſhould beſiege *Ster-* "*lin*; whither moſt Perſons of condition were retired with their Goods of Value, as to a place of ſtrength, and capable of being defended; where the Records of the Kingdom, and many other things of moſt account were depoſited; it being the place where the King had, for the moſt part reſided. He charged him, "If at S^t *Johnſton's*, or any other place, he "found a ſtubborn reſiſtance, and were forced to ſpend much "time, or to take it by Storm, that he ſhould give no Quar- "ter, nor exempt it from a general Plunder; all which Rules *Monk* obſerv'd with the utmoſt rigour; and made himſelf as terrible as Man could be.

When *Cromwell* had diſpatch'd all theſe Orders and Dire-

ctions,

ctions, with marvellous Expedition, and ſeen moſt of them advanced in ſome degree, he begun his own March with the remainder of his Army, three days after the King was gone, with a wonderful chearfulneſs, and aſſurance to the Officers and Soldiers, that he ſhould obtain a full Victory in *England* over thoſe who fled from him out of *Scotland*.

And follows the King three days after.

THE King had, from the time that he had recover'd any Authority in *Scotland*, granted a Commiſſion to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to raiſe a Regimenf of Horſe which *Maſſey* was to command under him, and to raiſe another Regiment of Foot. And the *Engliſh* which ſhould reſort thither, of which they expected great Numbers, were to Liſt themſelves in thoſe Regiments. And there were ſome who had Liſted themſelves accordingly; but the diſcipline the *Scots* had uſed to the King, and their adhering to their old Principles, even after they ſeem'd united for his Majeſty, had kept the King's friends in *England* from repairing to them in *Scotland*. They who came from *Holland* with the King, had diſpoſed themſelves as is ſaid before, and there was little doubt but that, aſſoon as the King ſhould enter *England*, thoſe two Regiments would be immediately full. The Duke of *Buckingham* had loſt much ground (and the more becauſe the King was not pleaſed with it) by his having broken off all manner of Friendſhip with Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale* (to whom he had profeſſed ſo much) and had enter'd into ſo faſt a conjunction with the Marquis of *Argyle*, their declar'd irreconcilable Enemy, and adhered ſo firmly to him, when he was leſs dutiful to the King than he ought to have been. *Maſſey* had got a great Name by his defending *Glocester* againſt the late King, and was look'd upon as a Martyr for the Presbyterian Intereſt, and ſo very dear to that Party; and therefore, aſſoon as they came within the borders of *England*, he was ſent with ſome Troops before, and was always to march at leaſt a day before the Army, to the end that he might give notice of the King's coming, and draw the Gentry of the Counties through which he paſs'd, to be ready to attend upon his Majeſty. Beſides, he had particular acquaintance with moſt of the Presbyterians of *Lancaſhire*; whom no Body imagin'd to be of the *Scotiſh* temper, or unwilling to unite and joyn with the Royal Party; nor indeed were they.

Maſſey ſent to march before the King.

BUT it was fatal at that time to all *Scotiſh* Armies, to have always in them a Committee of Miniſters, who ruin'd all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to chooſe ſuch Men for that ſervice as had the reputation of being the moſt Sober, and Moderate of that whole Body, and who had ſhew'd more Affection, and advanc'd the King's Service more than the reſt; yet this moderate People no

A Committee of Miniſters in the King's Army, who ruin all.

sooner heard that *Massey* was sent before to call upon their Friends, and observ'd that, from the entrance into *England*, those about the King seem'd to have less regard for the Covenant than formerly, but they sent an Express to him, without communicating it in the least degree with the King, with Letters, and a Declaration, wherein they requir'd him "To "publish that Declaration, which signified the King's, and the "whole Army's Zeal for the Covenant, and their Resolution "to prosecute the true intent of it; and forbid him "To re-"ceive or entertain any Soldiers in his Troops, but those "who would subscribe that obligation. The King had soon notice of this, and lost no time in sending to *Massey* "Not to "publish any such Declaration, and to behave himself with "equal civility towards all Men who were forward to serve "his Majesty. But before this inhibition was receiv'd, the matter had taken Air in all places, and was spread over the Kingdom; all Men fled from their Houses, or concealed themselves, who wished the King very well; and besides, his Motion was so quick, that none of them could repair to him.

The Earl of Derby *met the King in* Lancashire.

In *Lancashire* the Earl of *Derby* met him; who, assoon as he receiv'd his Summons, left the Isle of *Man*. When the King's Army came about *Warrington* in *Cheshire*, they found, that there was a Body of the Enemy drawn up in a fair Field, which did not appear considerable enough to stop their march.

Lambert *follows but is forced to retire.*

This was *Lambert*; who had made so much haste, that he had that day fallen upon some of their Troops, and beaten them into the Army; but when the Army came up, *Lambert*, according to his Order and purpose, retir'd, and being pursued by the King's Horse with a greater party, made more haste than a well order'd retreat requires, but with no considerable loss. The Success made a great noise, as if *Lambert* had been defeated.

At Warrington *The Earl of* Derby *parts from the King, and is sent to* Lancashire *with other Officers to raise Forces.*

At *Warrington* it was thought Counsellable, very unfortunately, that the Earl of *Derby*, with the Lord *Withrington*, and several other Officers of good Name, should return into *Lancashire*, in order to raise the well affected in those two Counties of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*; who could not come in upon so quick a march, as the King had made: and yet it being out of the road that *Cromwell* was to follow, who was enter'd into *York-shire*, the remaining of those Persons there, was thought a good Expedient to gather a Body of *English*, which the King extremely desir'd: and if they found any great difficulties, they were to follow the Army. In order to which, the Earl had a Body of near two hundred Horse, consisting, for the most part, of Officers, and Gentlemen; which depriv'd the Army of a strength they wanted; and was afterwards,

terwards acknowledged to be a Counsel too suddainly enter'd upon.

UPON appearance of that Body of *Lambert*'s, the whole Army was drawn up, and appear'd very chearful. The King having observ'd *David Lesley*, throughout the whole march, sad and melancholy, and, at that time when the Enemy retir'd, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good Retreat used to be made, slow in giving Orders, and residing by himself, his Majesty rode up to him, and ask'd him, with great alacrity, "How he could be sad, when he was in the Head of so brave "an Army? (which he said look'd well that day) and demanded of him, "How he liked them? To which *David Lesley* answer'd him in his Ear, being at some distance from any other, "That he was melancholly indeed, for he well knew "that Army, how well soever it look'd, would not Fight: which the King imputed to the chagrin of his Humour, and gave it no Credit, nor told it to any Man till some years after, upon another occasion which will be remember'd in it's place, he told the Chancellor of the Exchequer of it.

David Lesley's *saying, concerning the* Scotish *Army.*

It was not thought fit to pursue *Lambert*; who, being known to be a Man of Courage and Conduct, and his Troops to be of the best, was suspected, by so disorderly a Retreat, to have only design'd to have drawn the Army another way, to disorder and disturb their march; which they resolv'd to continue with the same Expedition they had hitherto used, which was incredible; until they should come to such a Post as they might securely rest themselves. And there was an imagination, that they might have continu'd it even to *London*; which would have produced wonderful Effects. But they quickly found that to be impossible, and that both Horse and Foot grew so weary, that they must have rest: The weather was exceedingly hot; the march having been begun near the beginning of *August*; so that if they had not some rest before an Enemy approach'd them, how willing soever they might be, they could not be able to Fight.

THERE was a small Garrison in *Shrewsbury* Commanded by a Gentleman, who, it was thought, might be prevail'd with to give it up to the King; but his Majesty sending to him, he return'd a rude denial: So that his Majesty's Eye was upon *Worcester*; that was so little out of his way to *London*, that the going thither would not much retard the march, if they found the Army able to continue it. *Worcester* had always been a place very well affected in it self, and most of the Gentlemen of that County had been engaged for the King in the former War, and the City was the last that had Surrender'd to the Parliament, of all those which had been Garrison'd for his Majesty; when all the Works were thrown down, and no

The King Summons Shrewsbury *in vain.*

Garrison from that time had been kept there; the Sheriff, and Justices, and Committees, having had power enough to defend it against any malignity of the Town, or County; and at this time, all the principal Gentry of that County had been seiz'd upon, and were now Prisoners there. Thither the King came with his Army even assoon as they had heard that he was in *England*: whereupon the Committee, and all those who were imploy'd by the Parliament, fled in all the confusion imaginable, leaving their Prisoners behind them, lest they themselves should become Prisoners to them; and the City open'd their Gates, and receiv'd the King, with all the demonstration of Affection and Duty that could be expressed; and made such provision for the Army, that it wanted nothing it could desire; the Mayor taking care for the present provision of Shoes and Stockings, the want whereof, in so long a march, was very apparent and grievous. The principal Persons of the Country found themselves at liberty; and They, and the Mayor and Aldermen, with all the Solemnity they could prepare, attended the Herald, who proclaim'd the King, as he had done, in more haste, and with less Formality, in all those considerable Towns through which his Majesty had passed.

The King marches to Worcester.

Where he is proclaimed.

THE Army liked their Quarters here so well, that neither Officer, nor Soldier was in any degree willing to quit them, till they should be throughly refresh'd: And it could not be deny'd that the fatigue had been even insupportable; never had so many hundred Miles been march'd in so few days, and with so little rest; nor did it in truth appear reasonable to any that they should remove from thence, since it was not possible that they should be able to reach *London*, though it had been better prepar'd for the Kings reception than it appear'd to be before *Cromwell* would be there: who, having with great haste continu'd his march in a direct Line, was now as near to it as the King's Army was, and stood only at a gaze to be inform'd what his Majesty meant to do. *Worcester* was a very good Post, seated almost in the middle of the Kingdom, and in as fruitful a Country as any part of it; a good City, serv'd by the noble River of *Severn* from all the adjacent Counties; *Wales* behind it, from whence Levies might be made of great Numbers of stout Men: It was a place where the King's Friends might repair, if they had the Affections they pretended to have; and it was a place where he might defend himself, if the Enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be compell'd to engage his Army in a Battle, till *Cromwell* had gotten Men enough to encompass him on all sides: And when the King might choose on which side to Fight, since the Enemy must be on both

both ſides the River, and could not come ſuddainly to relieve each other, and the ſtraitning the King to this degree would require much time; in which there might be an opportunity for ſeveral Inſurrections in the Kingdom, if they were ſo weary of the preſent Tyranny, and ſo ſollicitous to be reſtor'd to the King's Government, as they were conceiv'd to be: For no Body could ever hope for a more ſecure ſeaſon to manifeſt the Loyalty, than when the King was in the heart of the Kingdom, with a form'd Army of about fifteen thouſand Men, Horſe, and Foot, (for ſo they might be accounted to be) with which he might relieve thoſe who were in danger to be oppreſſed by a more powerful Party. Theſe conſiderations produced the Reſolution to provide, in the beſt manner, to expect *Cromwell* there; and a hope that he might be delay'd by other diverſions: And there was like to be time enough to caſt up ſuch Works upon the Hill before the Town, as might keep the Enemy at a diſtance, and their own Quarters from being ſuddainly ſtreighten'd: All which was recommended to General *Leſley* to take care of, and to take ſuch a perfect view of the Ground, that no advantage might be loſt when the time requir'd it.

The ill ſucceſs of the Earl of Derby.

THE firſt ill Omen that happen'd, was the News of the defeat of the Earl of *Derby*, and the total deſtruction of thoſe gallant Perſons who accompanied him. The Earl of *Derby* within two or three days after he had left the King, with a Body of near two hundred Horſe, all gallant Men, imploy'd his Servants, and Tenants, to give the Country notice of his ſtaying behind the King, to Head and Command thoſe Perſons who ſhould repair to his Service; which the quick march his Majeſty made through the Country would not permit them to do. In expectation of a good appearance of the People, he went to a little Market Town, call'd *Wigam* in *Lancaſhire*, where he ſtaid that Night; when in the Morning a Regiment or two of the Militia of the Neighbour Counties, and ſome other Troops of the Army, Commanded by a Man of Courage, whom *Cromwell* had ſent to follow in the track of the King's march to gather up the Straglers, and ſuch as were not able to keep pace with the Army, having receiv'd ſome Advertiſement that a Troop of the King's Horſe were behind the Army in that Town, fell very early into it, before the Perſons in the Town were out of their Beds, having aſſurance upon all the enquiry they could make, that there was no Enemy near them. Nor indeed was there any ſuſpicion of thoſe Forces, which conſiſted of the ſeveral Troops of the ſeveral Counties with others of the Army, and paſſed that way by accident. As many as could get to their Horſes, preſently Mounted; they who could not, put themſelves together on

Foot, and all endeavour'd to keep the Enemy from entring into the Town; and the few who were got on Horseback, Charg'd them with great Courage. But the Number of the Enemy was too great, and the Town too open, to put a stop to them in any one place, when they could enter at so many, and encompass those who opposed them. The Earl of *Derby*, after his Horse had been kill'd under him, made a shift to mount again; and so, with a small Party of Horse, through many difficulties and dangers, escaped wounded to the King to *Worcester*.

The Lord Withrington kill'd upon the place.

THE Lord *Withrington*, after he had receiv'd many wounds, and given as many, and merited his death by the vengeance he took upon those who assaulted him, was kill'd upon the place; and so was Sr *Thomas Tildesley*, and many other gallant Gentlemen, very few escaping to carry News of the defeat. Sr *William Throgmorton*, who had been formerly Major General of the Marquis of *New-Castle*'s Army, and was left to Command in the same function, receiv'd so many wounds, that he was look'd upon as dead, and not fit to be carried away with the Prisoners: and so fell into such charitable and generous hands in the Town, that being believ'd to be dead, he was afterwards so well recover'd, though with great Maimes and loss of Blood, that he at last got himself Transported into *Holland*; where he was, at first appearance, taken for a Ghost, all Men believing him to have been buried long before. Most of those who were taken Prisoners, of any Quality, were afterwards Sacrificed as a Spectacle to the People, and Barbarously put to death in several places; some, with the Earl of *Derby*; and others, near the same time, in other places.

The Lord Withrington's Character.

THE Lord *Withrington* was one of the most goodly Persons of that Age, being near the head higher than most tall Men, and a Gentleman of the best and most ancient Extraction of the County of *Northumberland*, and of a very fair Fortune, and one of the four which the last King made choice of to be about the Person of his Son the Prince as a Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, when he first settled his Family. His Affection to the King was always remarkable; and serving in the House of Commons as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Northumberland*, he quickly got the reputation of being amongst the most Malignant. Assoon as the War broke out, he was of the first who raised both Horse and Foot at his own Charge, and serv'd eminently with them under the Marquis of *New-Castle*; with whom he had a very particular and entire Friendship. He was very nearly allied to the Marquis; and by his Testimony that he had perform'd many signal Services, he was, about the middle of the War, made a Peer

of

of the Kingdom. He was a Man of great Courage, but of ſome Paſſion, by which he incurr'd the ill Will of many, who imputed it to an inſolence of Nature, which no Man was farther from; no Man of a Nature more Civil, and candid towards all, in buſineſs, or converſation. But having ſate long in the Houſe of Commons, and obſerv'd the diſingenuity of the proceedings there, and the groſs cheats, by which they deceiv'd and couſen'd the People, he had contracted ſo hearty an indignation againſt them, and all who were couſen'd by them, and againſt all who had not his Zeal to oppoſe and deſtroy them, that he often ſaid things to ſlow and flegmatick Men, which offended them, and it may be, injured them; which his good nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and ask Pardon of thoſe who would not queſtion him for it. He Tranſported himſelf into the parts beyond the Sea at the ſame time with the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, to accompany him, and remain'd ſtill with him till the King went into *Scotland*; and then waited upon his Majeſty, and endured the ſame Affronts which others did, during the time of his Reſidence there. And, it may be, the obſervation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their Principles, and the diſdain of their Treatment, produced that averſion from their Converſation, that prevail'd upon his impatience to part too ſoon from their Company, in hope that the Earl of *Derby*, under whom he was very willing to ſerve, and he himſelf, might quickly draw together ſuch a Body of the Royal Party, as might give ſome check to the unbounded imaginations of that Nation. It was reported by the Enemy, that, in reſpect of his brave Perſon and behaviour, they did offer him Quarter; which he refuſed; and that they were thereby compell'd, in their own defence, to kill him; which is probable enough; for he knew well the Animoſity the Parliament had againſt him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have uſed him better than they did the Earl of *Derby*; who had not more Enemies.

And Sir Thomas Tildeſley's.

SIR *Thomas Tildeſley* was a Gentleman of a good Family, and a good Fortune, who had raiſed Men at his own Charge at the beginning of the War, and had ſerv'd in the Command of them till the very end of it, with great Courage; and refuſing to make any Compoſition after the Murder of the King, he found means to Tranſport himſelf into *Ireland* to the Marquis of *Ormond*; with whom he ſtay'd, till he was, with the reſt of the *Engliſh* Officers, diſmiſſed, to ſatisfy the barbarous Jealouſy of the *Iriſh*; and then got over into *Scotland* a little before the King march'd from thence, and was deſir'd by the Earl of *Derby* to remain with him. The Names of the other Perſons of Quality who were kill'd in that Encounter, and thoſe who

who were taken Prisoners, and afterwards put to death, ought to be discover'd, and mention'd honourably, by any who shall propose to himself to communicate particularly those Transactions to the view of Posterity.

WHEN the News of this Defeat came to *Worcester*, as it did even almost assoon as the King came thither, it exceedingly afflicted his Majesty, and abated much of the hope he had of a general Rising of the People on his behalf. His Army was very little increased by the access of any *English*; and though he had passed near the habitation of many Persons of Honour and Quality, whose Affections and Loyalty had been eminent, not a Man of them repair'd to him. The sense of their former sufferings remain'd, and the smart was not over; nor did his stay in *Worcester* for so many days add any resort to his Court. The Gentlemen of the Country whom his coming thither had redeem'd from Imprisonment, remain'd still with him, and were useful to him; they who were in their Houses in the Country, though as well affected, remain'd there; and came not to him; and though Letters from *London* had given him cause to believe that many prepared to come to him, which for some days they might easily have done, none appear'd, except only some few Gentlemen, and some common Men who had formerly serv'd the last King, and repaired again to *Worcester*.

Transactions of the King at Worcester.

THERE were some other Accidents and Observations which administer'd matter of Mortification to the King. The Duke of *Buckingham* had a mind very restless, and thought he had not Credit enough with the King if it were not made manifest that he had more than any Body else: And therefore, assoon as the King had enter'd *England*, though he had reason to believe that his Majesty had not been abundantly satisfied with his behaviour in *Scotland*, he came to the King, and told him, "The business was now to reduce *England* to his Obe-"dience; and therefore he ought to do all things gracious, and "popular in the Eyes of the Nation; and nothing could be "less so, than that the Army should be under the Command "of a *Scotish* General: That *David Lesley* was only Lieutenant "General; and it had been unreasonable, whilst he remain'd "in *Scotland*, to have put any other to have Commanded over "him; but that it would be as unreasonable, now they were "in *England*, and had hope to increase the Army by the ac-"cess of the *English*, upon whom his principal dependence "must be, to expect that they would be willing to serve un-"der *Lesley*: That it would not consist with the Honour of any "Peer of *England* to receive his Orders; and, he believ'd, "that very few of that Rank would repair to his Majesty till "they were secure from that apprehension; and used much more

more diſcourſe to that purpoſe. The King was ſo much ſurpriſed with it, that he could not imagine what he meant, and what the end of it would be; and asked him, "Who it was "that he thought fit his Majeſty ſhould give that Command "to? when, to his aſtoniſhment, the Duke told him, "He "hoped his Majeſty would confer it upon himſelf. At which the King was ſo amazed, that he found an occaſion to break off the diſcourſe, by calling upon ſome Body who was near, to come to him; and, by asking many queſtions declined the former Argument. The Duke would not be ſo put off; but, the next day, in the march, renew'd his Importunity; and told the King, "That, he was confident, what he had "propoſed to him, was ſo evidently for his Service, that *Da-*"*vid Leſley* himſelf would willingly conſent to it. The King angry at his proſecuting it in that manner, told him, "He could "hardly believe that he was in earneſt, or that he could in "truth believe that he could be fit for ſuch a Charge; which the Duke ſeem'd to wonder at, and asked, "Wherein his un-"fitneſs lay; To which the King replied, "That he was too "young: And he as readily alledged, "That *Harry* the Fourth "of *France* Commanded an Army, and won a Battle, when "he was younger than He: ſo that, in the end, the King was compell'd to tell him, "That he would have no Generaliſſimo "but himſelf: upon which the Duke was ſo diſcontented, that he came no more to the Council, ſcarce ſpoke to the King, neglected every Body elſe and himſelf, inſomuch as for many days he ſcarce put on clean Linen, nor converſed with any Body; nor did he recover this ill humour whilſt the Army ſtay'd at *Worceſter*.

THERE was another worſe Accident fell out ſoon after the King's coming thither: Major General *Maſſey*, who thought himſelf now in his own Territory, and that all between *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter* would be quickly his own Conqueſt, knowing every ſtep both by Land and the River, went out with a Party to ſecure a Paſs, which the Enemy might make over the River; which he did very well; but would then make a farther in-road into the Country, and poſſeſs a Houſe which was of ſmall importance, and in which there were Men to defend it; where he receiv'd a very dangerous Wound, that tore his Arm, and Hand, in ſuch manner that he was in great torment, and could not ſtir out of his Bed, in a time when his Activity and Induſtry was moſt wanted. By this means, the Paſs he had ſecured, was either totally neglected, or not enough taken care of.

General Maſſey wounded in an attempt.

THERE was no good underſtanding between the Officers of the Army: *David Leſley* appear'd diſpirited, and confounded; gave, and revoked his Orders, and ſometimes contradicted

The ill diſpoſition of the King's Officers.

dicted them. He did not love *Middleton*, and was very jealous that all the Officers lov'd him too well; who was indeed an excellent Officer, and kept up the Spirits of the reſt, who had no eſteem of *Leſley*. In this very unhappy diſtemper was the Court, and the Army, in a Seaſon when they were ready to be ſwallow'd by the power and multitude of the Enemy, and when nothing could preſerve them, but the moſt ſincere Unity in their prayers to God, and a joynt concurrence in their Counſels and Endeavours; in all which they were miſerably divided.

THE King had been ſeveral days in *Worceſter*, when *Cromwell* was known to be within leſs than half a day's march, with an addition of very many Regiments of Horſe and Foot to thoſe which he had brought with him from *Scotland*; and many other Regiments were drawing towards him of the Militia of the ſeveral Counties, under the Command of the principal Gentlemen of their party in the Countries: ſo that he was already very much ſuperior, if not double in Number to the Army the King had with him. However, if thoſe Rules had been obſerv'd, thoſe Works caſt up, and that order in quartering their Men, as were reſolv'd upon when the King came thither, there muſt have been a good defence made, and the Advantages of the ground, the River, and the City, would have preſerv'd them from being preſently overrun. But, alas! the Army was in amazement and confuſion. *Cromwell*, without troubling himſelf with the formality of a Siege, march'd directly on as to a Prey, and poſſeſs'd the Hill and all other places of Advantage, with very little oppoſition. It was upon the third of *September*, when the King having been upon his Horſe moſt part of the Night, and having taken a full view of the Enemy, and every body being upon the Poſt they were appointed, and the Enemy making ſuch a ſtand, that it was concluded he meant to make no attempt then, and if he ſhould he might be repelled with eaſe; his Majeſty, a little before Noon, retired to his Lodging to eat, and refreſh himſelf: where he had not been near an hour, when the Alarm came, "That both Armies were engaged; and though his Majeſty's own Horſe was ready at the door, and he preſently mounted, before or aſſoon as he came out of the City, he met the whole Body of his Horſe running in ſo great diſorder, that he could not ſtop them, though he uſed all the means he could and called to many Officers by their Names; and hardly preſerv'd himſelf, by letting them paſs by, from being overthrown, and overrun by them.

The King's defeat at Worceſter 3d of September.

CROMWELL had uſed none of the delay, nor circumſpection which was imagin'd; but directed the Troops to fall on in all places at once; and had cauſed a ſtrong Party to go over

over the River at the Pass, which *Massey* had formerly secured, at a good distance from the Town. And that being not at all guarded, they were never known to be on that side the River till they were even ready to charge the King's Troops. On that part where *Middleton* was, and with whom Duke *Hamilton* charged, there was a very brave resistance; and they charged the Enemy so vigorously, that they beat the Body that charged them back, but they were quickly overpower'd; and many Gentlemen being kill'd, and *Middleton* hurt, and Duke *Hamilton*'s Leg broke with a Shot, the rest were forced to retire and shift for themselves. In no other part was there resistance made; but such a general consternation possessed the whole Army, that the rest of the Horse fled, and all the Foot threw down their Arms before they were charged. When the King came back into the Town, he found a good Body of Horse, which had been perswaded to make a stand, though much the major part passed through upon the Spur. The King desired those who staid, "That they would follow him, "that they might look upon the Enemy, who, he believ'd, "did not pursue them. But when his Majesty had gone a little way, he found most of the Horse were gone the other way, and that he had none but a few Servants of his own about him. Then he sent to have the Gates of the Town shut, that none might get in one way, nor out the other: but all was confusion; there were few to Command, and none to obey: so that the King staid, till very many of the Enemy's Horse were enter'd the Town, and then he was perswaded to withdraw himself.

Duke Hamilton died of his wounds.

DUKE *Hamilton* fell into the Enemy's Hands; and, the next day, died of his Wounds; and thereby prevented the being made a Spectacle, as his Brother had been; which the Pride and Animosity of his Enemies would no doubt have caused to be, having the same pretence for it by his being a Peer of *England*, as the other was. He was in all respects to be much preferr'd before the other, a much wiser, though, it may be, a less cunning Man: for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other's Master-piece. He had unquestionable courage: he was in truth a very accomplish'd Person, of an excellent Judgment, and clear and ready Expressions: and though he had been driven into some unwarrantable actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any inclinations of his own, and passionately and heartily run to all opportunities of redeeming it: and, in the very Article of his death, he expressed a marvellous chearfulness, "That "he had the honour to lose his life in the King's Service, and "thereby to wipe out the memory of his former Transgressi-"ons; which he always professed were odious to himself.

His Character.

A

As the Victory cost the Enemy little Blood, so after it there was not much cruelty used to the Prisoners who were taken upon the spot. But very many of those who run away, were every day knocked in the head by the Country People, and used with barbarity. Towards the King's menial Servants, whereof most were taken, there was nothing of severity; but within few days they were all discharged, and set liberty.

The King's Retreat, and concealment.

THOUGH the King could not get a Body of Horse to fight, he could have too many to fly with him; and he had not been many hours from *Worcester*, when he found about him near, if not above, four thousand of his Horse. There was *David Lesley* with all his own Equipage, as if he had not fled upon the suddain; so that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a retreat even into *Scotland* it self. But there was paleness in every Man's looks, and jealousy, and confusion, in their faces; and scarce any thing could worse befall the King, than a return into *Scotland*; which yet he could not reasonably promise to himself in that company. But when the Night cover'd them, he found means to withdraw himself with one or two of his own Servants; whom he likewise discharged, when it began to be Light; and after he had made them cut off his hair, he betook himself alone into an adjacent Wood, and relied only upon Him for his preservation who alone could, and did Miraculously deliver him.

WHEN it was Morning, and the Troops, which had march'd all Night, and who knew that when it begun to be dark the King was with them, found now that he was not there, they cared less for each others company; and most of them who were *English* separated themselves, and went into other Roads; and wherever twenty Horse appear'd of the Country, which was now awake, and upon their Guard to stop and arrest the Runaways, the whole Body of the *Scotish* Horse would fly, and run several ways; and twenty of them would give themselves Prisoners to two Country Fellows: however, *David Lesley* reach'd *York-shire* with above fifteen hundred Horse in a Body. But the jealousies increas'd every day; and those of his own Country were so unsatisfied with his whole conduct and behaviour, that they did, that is many of them believe that he was corrupted by *Cromwell*, and the rest, who did not think so, believ'd him not to understand his profession, in which he had been bred from his Cradle. When he was in his flight, considering one Morning with the principal Persons, which way they should take, some proposed this, and others that way; Sr *William Armorer* ask'd him, "Which way "he thought best? which when he had named, the other said, "he would then go the other; for, he swore, he had betray'd "the King and the Army all the time; and so left him.

WELL

WELL nigh all of them in this long flight were taken, and amongſt them the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and many of the *Scotiſh* Nobility, and the Earls of *Cleveland* and *Derby*, and divers other Men of Quality of the *Engliſh* Nation. And it is hard to be believ'd how very few of that numerous Body of Horſe (for there can be no imagination that any of the Foot eſcaped) return'd into *Scotland*. Upon all the enquiry that was made, when moſt of the falſe and treacherous Actions which had been committed were diſcover'd, there appear'd no cauſe to ſuſpect that *David Leſley* had been unfaithful in his Charge: though he never recover'd any Reputation with thoſe of his own Country who wedded the King's Intereſt. And it was ſome vindication to him, that from the time of his Impriſonment, he never receiv'd any favour from the Parliament, whom he had ſerv'd ſo long; nor from *Cromwell*, in whoſe Company he had ſerv'd; but underwent all the Severities, and long Impriſonment, the reſt of his Country-men ſuffer'd. The King did not believe him falſe; and did always think him an excellent Officer of Horſe, to diſtribute and execute Orders, but in no degree capable of Commanding in chief. And without doubt he was ſo amaz'd in that fatal day, that he perform'd not the Office of a General, or of any competent Officer. *David Leſley and the reſt taken.*

THEY who fled out of *Worceſter*, and were not kill'd, but made Priſoners, and all the Foot, and others who were taken in the Town, except ſome few Officers and Perſons of Quality, were driven like Cattle with a Guard to *London*, and there treated with great rigour; and many periſh'd for want of food; and being incloſed in a little room, till they were ſold to the Plantations for Slaves, they died of all diſeaſes. *Cromwell* return'd in Triumph; was receiv'd with univerſal Joy and Acclamation, as if he had deſtroy'd the Enemy of the Nation, and for ever ſecured the Liberty, and Happineſs of the People: a Price was ſet upon the King's Head, whoſe eſcape was thought to be impoſſible; and order taken for the Trial of the Earl of *Derby*, and ſuch other notorious Priſoners as they had Voted to deſtruction. *The King's Foot driven Priſoners to* London, *and ſold to the Plantations.*

THE Earl of *Derby* was a Man of unqueſtionable Loyalty to the late King, and gave clear Teſtimony of it before he receiv'd any Obligations from the Court, and when he thought himſelf diſobliged by it. This King, in his firſt year, ſent him the Garter; which, in many reſpects, he had expected from the laſt. And the ſenſe of that Honour made him ſo readily comply with the King's Command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the Undertaking, nor any inclination to the *Scots*; who, he thought, had too much guilt upon them, in having depreſſed the Crown, to be made Inſtruments *The Earl of* Derby *his Character and Execution.*

ſtruments of repairing and reſtoring it. He was a Man of great Honour and clear Courage; and all his defects, and misfortunes, proceeded from his having liv'd ſo little time among his Equals, that he knew not how to treat his Inferiors; which was the Source of all the ill that befel him, having thereby drawn ſuch prejudice againſt him from Perſons of inferior Quality, who yet thought themſelves too good to be contemn'd, that they purſued him to death. The King's Army was no ſooner defeated at *Worceſter*, but the Parliament renew'd their old Method of Murdering in cold Blood, and ſent a Commiſſion to erect a High Court of Juſtice to Perſons of ordinary Quality, many not being Gentlemen and all notoriouſly his Enemies, to Try the Earl of *Derby* for his Treaſon and Rebellion; which they eaſily found him guilty of; and put him to death in a Town of his own, againſt which he had expreſſed a ſevere diſpleaſure for their obſtinate Rebellion againſt the King, with all the circumſtances of Rudeneſs and Barbarity they could invent. The ſame Night, one of thoſe who was amongſt his Judges, ſent a Trumpet to the Iſle of *Man* with a Letter directed to the Counteſs of *Derby*, by which he required her "To deliver up the Caſtle and Iſland "to the Parliament: Nor did their Malice abate, till they had reduced that Lady, a Woman of very high and Princely Extraction, being the Daughter of the Duke *de Tremouille* in *France*, and of the moſt exemplary Virtue and Piety of her time, and that whole moſt noble Family, to the loweſt penury and want, by diſpoſing, giving, and ſelling, all the Fortune and Eſtate that ſhould ſupport it.

THEY of the King's Friends in *Flanders*, *France*, and *Holland*, who had not been permitted to attend upon his Majeſty in *Scotland*, were much exalted with the News of his being enter'd *England* with a Powerful Army, and being poſſeſſed of *Worceſter*, which made all Men prepare to make haſte thither. But they were confounded with the News of that fatal day, and more confounded with the various reports of the Perſon of the King, "Of his being found amongſt the dead; "of his being Priſoner; and all thoſe imaginations which naturally attend upon ſuch unproſperous Events. Many who had made eſcapes, arriv'd every day in *France*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*, but knew no more what was become of the King, than They did who had not been in *England*. The only comfort that any of them brought, was, that he was amongſt thoſe that fled, and ſome of them had ſeen him that Evening after the Battle, many Miles out of *Worceſter*. Theſe unſteady degrees of hope and fear tormented them very long; ſometimes they heard he was at the *Hague* with his Siſter, which was occaſion'd by the arrival of the Duke of *Buckingham*

ham in *Holland*; and it was thought good Policy to publiſh that the King himſelf was landed, that the Search after him in *England* might be diſcontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any place on that ſide of the Sea. And this anxiety of mind diſquieted the hearts of all Honeſt Men during the whole Months of *September* and *October*, and part of *November*; in which Month his Majeſty was known to be at *Roan*; where he made himſelf known, and ſtay'd ſome days to provide Cloaths; and from thence gave notice to the Queen of his arrival.

The King came to Roan in Novemb.

It is great pity that there was never a Journal made of that Miraculous Deliverance, in which there might be ſeen ſo many viſible impreſſions of the immediate Hand of God. When the darkneſs of the Night was over, after the King had caſt himſelf into that Wood, he diſcern'd another Man, who had gotten upon an Oak in the ſame Wood, near the place where the King had reſted himſelf, and had ſlept ſoundly. The Man upon the Tree had firſt ſeen the King, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the King, being a Gentleman of the neighbour County of *Stafford-ſhire*, who had ſerv'd his late Majeſty during the War, and had now been one of the few who reſorted to the King after his coming to *Worceſter*. His name was *Careleſs*, who had had a Command of Foot, about the degree of a Captain, under the Lord *Loughborough*. He perſwaded the King, ſince it could not be ſafe for him to go out of the Wood, and that aſſoon, as it ſhould be fully light, the Wood it ſelf would probably be viſited by thoſe of the Country, who would be ſearching to find thoſe whom they might make Priſoners, that he would get up into that Tree, where He had been; where the Boughs were ſo thick with leaves, that a Man would not be diſcover'd there without a narrower Enquiry than People uſually make in places which they do not ſuſpect. The King thought it good Counſel; and, with the others help, climb'd into the Tree; and, then helped his Companion to aſcend after him; where they ſat all that day, and ſecurely ſaw Many who came purpoſely into the Wood to look after them, and heard all their diſcourſe, how they would uſe the King himſelf if they could take him. This Wood was either in, or upon the Borders of *Stafford-ſhire*; and though there was a High-way near one ſide of it, where the King had enter'd into it, yet it was large, and all other ſides of it open'd amongſt Incloſures, and *Careleſs* was not unacquainted with the Neighbour Villages, and it was part of the King's good Fortune, that this Gentleman by being a Roman Catholick, was acquainted with thoſe of that Profeſſion of all degrees, who had the beſt opportunities of concealing him: for it muſt never be denied, that

The particulars of the King's eſcape as the Author had them from the King himſelf.

The King meets Captain Careleſs in a Wood, who perſwades him to get up into an Oak.

some of that Religion had a very great share in his Majesty's preservation.

THE day being spent in the Tree, it was not in the King's power to forget that he had liv'd two days with eating very little, and two Nights with as little sleep; so that, when the Night came, he was willing to make some provision for both: and he resolv'd with the advice and assistance of his Companion, to leave his blessed Tree; and, when the Night was dark, they walked through the Wood into those Inclosures which were fartheſt from any High-way, and making a shift to get over Hedges and Ditches, after walking at least eight or nine Miles, which were the more grievous to the King by the weight of his Boots (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair for want of Shoes) before Morning they came to a poor Cottage, the owner whereof being a Roman Catholick was known to *Careleſs*. He was call'd up, and assoon as he knew one of them, he easily concluded in what condition they both were; and presently carried them into a little Barn, full of Hay; which was a better lodging than he had for himself. But when they were there, and had conferr'd with their Host of the news and temper of the Country, it was agreed, that the danger would be the greater if they stay'd together; and therefore that *Careleſs* should presently be gone; and should within two days, send an honest Man to the King, to guide him to some other place of security; and in the mean time his Majesty should stay upon the Hay-mow. The poor Man had nothing for him to eat, but promised him good Butter-milk; and so he was once more left alone, his Companion, how weary soever, departing from him before day, the poor Man of the House knowing no more, than that he was a Friend of the Captain's, and one of those who had escaped from *Worceſter*. The King slept very well in his lodging, till the time that his Host brought him a piece of Bread, and a great Pot of Butter-milk, which he thought the best food he ever had eaten. The poor Man spoke very intelligently to him of the Country, and of the People who were well or ill affected to the King, and of the great fear, and terror, that possessed the hearts of those who were best affected. He told him, "That he himself liv'd by his daily "Labour, and that what he had brought him was the Fare he "and his Wife had; and that he fear'd, if he should endea-"vour to procure better, it might draw suspicion upon him, "and People might be apt to think he had some Body with "him that was not of his own Family. However, if he would "have him get some Meat, he would do it; but if he could "bear this hard Diet, he should have enough of the Milk, and "some of the Butter that was made with it. The King was satisfied

Thence he came to a Cottage nine miles off, where he lay in a Barn.

satisfied with his reason, and would not run the hazard for a change of Diet; desir'd only the Man, "That he might have "his Company as often, and as much as he could give it him; there being the same reason against the poor Man's discontinuing his Labour, as the alteration of his Fare.

AFTER he had rested upon this Hay-mow, and fed upon this Diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another Fellow, a little above the condition of his Host, came to the House, sent from *Careless*, to conduct the King to another House, more out of any Road near which any part of the Army was like to march. It was above twelve Miles that he was to go, and was to use the same caution he had done the first Night, not to go in any Common Road; which his Guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new dressed himself, changing Cloaths with his Landlord; he had a great mind to have kept his own Shirt, but he consider'd, that Men are not sooner discover'd by any mark in disguises, than by having fine Linnen in ill Cloaths; and so he parted with his Shirt too, and took the same his poor Host had then on. Though he had foreseen that he must leave his Boots, and his Landlord had taken the best care he could to provide an old pair of Shoes, yet they were not easy to him when he first put them on, and, in a short time after, grew very grievous to him. In this Equipage he set out from his first Lodging in the beginning of the Night, under the conduct of this Guide; who guided him the nearest way, crossing over Hedges and Ditches, that they might be in least danger of meeting Passengers. This was so grievous a march, and he was so tired, that he was even ready to despair, and to prefer being taken and suffer'd to rest, before purchasing his Safety at that price. His Shoes had, after a few Miles, hurt him so much, that he had thrown them away, and walked the rest of the way in his ill Stockings, which were quickly worn out; and his Feet, with the Thorns in getting over Hedges, and with the Stones in other places, were so hurt and wounded, that he many times cast himself upon the ground, with a desperate and obstinate Resolution to rest there till the Morning, that he might shift with less torment, what hazard soever he run. But his stout Guide still prevail'd with him to make a new attempt, sometimes promising that the way should be better, and sometimes assuring him that he had but little farther to go: and in this distress and perplexity, before the Morning, they arriv'd at the House design'd; which though it was better than that which he had left, his Lodging was still in the Barn, upon Straw instead of Hay, a place being made as easy in it, as the expectation of a Guest could dispose it. Here he had such Meat and Porridge as such People use

Thence he is conducted to another House 12 miles off:

to have; with which, but especially with the Butter and the Cheese, he thought himself well feasted; and took the best care he could to be supplied with other, little better Shoes and Stockings: and after his Feet were enough recover'd that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor House, within such a distance as put him not to much trouble: for having not yet in his thought which way, or by what means to make his escape, all that was design'd was only by shifting from one House to another, to avoid discovery. And being now in that Quarter which was more inhabited by the Roman Catholicks than most other parts in *England*, he was led from one to another of that perswasion, and conceal'd with great Fidelity. But he then observ'd that he was never carried to any Gentleman's House, though that Country was full of them, but only to poor Houses of poor Men, which only yielded him rest with very unpleasant sustenance; whether there was more danger in those better Houses, in regard of the resort, and the many Servants; or whether the Owners of great Estates, were the Owners likewise of more fears and apprehensions.

Thence to another; and so to others.

WITHIN few days a very honest and discreet Person, one Mr *Hudlestone*, a Benedictine Monk, who attended the Service of the Roman Catholicks in those parts, came to him, sent by *Careless*; and was a very great assistance and comfort to him. And when the places to which he carried him, were at too great a distance to walk, he provided him a Horse, and more proper Habit than the Rags he wore. This Man told him, "That the Lord *Wilmot* lay conceal'd likewise in a Friend's "House of his; which his Majesty was very glad of; and "wished him to contrive some means, how they might speak "together; which the other easily did; and, within a Night or two, brought them into one place. *Wilmot* told the King "That he had by very good Fortune, fallen into the House "of an honest Gentleman, one Mr *Lane*, a Person of an ex- "cellent Reputation for his Fidelity to the King, but of so "universal and general a good Name, that, though he had a Son, "who had been a Colonel in the King's Service, during the "late War, and was then upon his way with Men to *Wor-* "*cester* the very day of the defeat, Men of all Affections in the "Country, and of all Opinions, paid the old Man a very great "respect: that he had been very civilly treated there, and "that the old Gentleman had used some diligence to find out "where the King was, that he might get him to his House; "where, he was sure, he could conceal him till he might "contrive a full deliverance. He told him, "He had with- "drawn from that House, in hope that he might, in some "other place, discover where his Majesty was, and having now "happily

Mr Hudlestone *sent to him by* Careless; *who brought him to the Lord* Wilmot.

"happily found him, adviſed him to repair to that Houſe "which ſtood not near any other.

THE King enquired of the Monk of the reputation of this Gentleman; who told him, "That he had a fair Eſtate; was "exceedingly belov'd; and the eldeſt Juſtice of Peace of that "County of *Stafford*; and though he was a very zealous "Proteſtant, yet he liv'd with ſo much civility and candour "towards the Catholicks, that they would all truſt him, as "much as they would do any of their own Profeſſion; and "that he could not think of any place of ſo good repoſe and ſe-"curity for his Majeſty's repair to. The King liked the Propoſition, yet thought not fit to ſurpriſe the Gentleman; but ſent *Wilmot* thither again, to aſſure himſelf that he might be receiv'd there; and was willing that he ſhould know what Gueſt he receiv'd; which hitherto was ſo much concealed, that none of the Houſes where he had yet been, knew, or ſeem'd to ſuſpect more than that he was one of the King's Party that fled from *Worceſter*. The Monk carried him to a Houſe at a reaſonable diſtance, where he was to expect an Account from the Lord *Wilmot*; who return'd very punctually, with as much aſſurance of welcome as he could wiſh. And ſo they two went together to Mr *Lane*'s Houſe; where the King found he was welcome, and conveniently accommodated in ſuch places, as in a large Houſe had been provided to conceal the Perſons of Malignants, or to preſerve goods of value from being plunder'd. Here he lodg'd, and eat very well; and begun to hope that he was in preſent ſafety. *Wilmot* return'd under the care of the Monk, and expected Summons, when any farther motion ſhould be thought to be neceſſary.

The King brought by him to Mr Lane's House.

IN this ſtation the King remain'd in quiet and bleſſed ſecurity many days, receiving every day information of the general conſternation the Kingdom was in, out of the apprehenſion that his Perſon might fall into the hands of his Enemies, and of the great diligence they uſed to enquire for him. He ſaw the Proclamation that was iſſued out and printed; in which a Thouſand pounds were promiſed to any Man who would deliver and diſcover the Perſon of *Charles Stuart*, and the penalty of High Treaſon declared againſt thoſe who preſum'd to harbour or conceal him: By which he ſaw how much he was beholding to all thoſe who were faithful to him. It was now time to conſider how he might get near the Sea, from whence he might find ſome means to Tranſport himſelf: And he was now near the middle of the Kingdom, ſaving that it was a little more Northward, where he was utterly unacquainted with all the Ports, and with that Coaſt. In the Weſt he was beſt acquainted, and that Coaſt was moſt

proper to Transport him into *France*; to which he was inclin'd. Upon this matter he Communicated with those of this Family to whom he was known, that is, with the old Gentleman the Father, a very grave and venerable Person, the Colonel his Eldest Son, a very plain Man in his discourse and behaviour, but of a fearless Courage, and an Integrity superior to any temptation, and a Daughter of the House, of a very good Wit and Discretion, and very fit to bear any part in such a Trust. It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times, that the Affections of all Men were almost as well known as their Faces, by the discovery they had made of themselves, in those sad Seasons, in many Trials and Persecutions: So that Men knew not only the Minds of their next Neighbours, and those who inhabited near them, but, upon conference with their Friends, could choose fit Houses, at any distance, to repose themselves in security, from one end of the Kingdom to another, without trusting the Hospitality of a Common Inn: And Men were very rarely deceiv'd in their confidence upon such occasions, but the Persons with whom they were at any time, could conduct them to another House of the same Affection.

Mr *Lane* had a Niece, or very near Kinswoman, who was Married to a Gentleman, one Mr *Norton*, a Person of eight or nine hundred pounds *per annum*, who liv'd within four or five Miles of *Bristol*, which was at least four or five days journey from the place where the King then was, but a place most to be wish'd for the King to be in, because he did not only know all that Country very well, but knew many Persons also, to whom, in an extraordinary Case, he durst make himself known. It was hereupon resolv'd, that Mrs *Lane* should visit this Cousin, who was known to be of good affections: and that she should ride behind the King; who was fitted with Cloaths and Boots for such a Service; and that a Servant of her Father's, in his Livery, should wait upon her. A good House was easily pitch'd upon for the first night's Lodging; where *Wilmot* had notice given him to meet. And in this Equipage the King begun his journey; the Colonel keeping him Company at a distance, with a Hawk upon his Fist, and two or three Spaniels; which, where there were any Fields at hand, warranted him to ride out of the way, keeping his Company still in his Eye, and not seeming to be of it. In this manner they came to their first night's Lodging; and they need not now contrive to come to their journeys end about the close of the Evening, for it was in the Month of *October* far advanced, that the long journies they made could not be dispatched sooner. Here the Lord *Wilmot* found them; and their journies being then adjusted, he was instructed where

Here it was resolv'd the King should go to Mr Norton; riding before Mrs Lane.

he

he ſhould be every Night: ſo they were ſeldom ſeen together in the Journey, and rarely lodg'd in the ſame Houſe at Night. In this manner the Colonel Hawk'd two or three days, till he had brought them within leſs than a days Journey of Mr *Norton*'s Houſe; and then he gave his Hawk to the Lord *Wilmot*; who continued the Journey in the ſame Exerciſe.

THERE was great care taken when they came to any Houſe, that the King might be preſently carried into ſome Chamber; Mrs *Lane* declaring "That he was a Neighbour's "Son, whom his Father had lent her to ride before her, in "hope that he would the ſooner recover from a Quartan Ague, "with which he had been miſerably afflicted, and was not "yet free. And by this Artifice ſhe cauſed a good bed to be ſtill provided for him, and the beſt meat to be ſent; which ſhe often carried her ſelf, to hinder others from doing it. There was no reſting in any place till they came to Mr *Norton*'s, nor any thing extraordinary that happen'd in the way, ſave that they met many People every day in the way, who were very well known to the King, and the day that they went to Mr *Norton*'s, they were neceſſarily to ride quite through the City of *Briſtol*, a Place, and People, the King had been ſo well acquainted with, that he could not but ſend his Eyes abroad to view the great alterations which had been made there, after his departure from thence: and when he rode near the place where the great Fort had ſtood, he could not forbear putting his Horſe out of the way, and rode with his Miſtreſs behind him round about it.

THEY came to Mr *Norton*'s Houſe ſooner than uſual, and it being on a Holy-day, they ſaw many People about a Bowling-Green that was before the door, and the firſt Man the King ſaw was a Chaplain of his own, who was ally'd to the Gentleman of the Houſe, and was ſitting upon the rails to ſee how the Bowlers play'd. *William*, by which name the King went, walk'd with his Horſe into the Stable, until his Miſtreſs could provide for his retreat. Mrs *Lane* was very welcome to her Couſin, and was preſently conducted to her Chamber; where ſhe no ſooner was, than ſhe lamented the condition of "A "good Youth, who came with her, and whom ſhe had bor- "row'd of his Father to ride before her, who was very ſick, "being newly recover'd of an Ague; and deſir'd her Couſin, "that a Chamber might be provided for him, and a good fire "made: For that he would go early to Bed, and was not fit to "be below ſtairs. A pretty little Chamber was preſently made ready, and a fire prepared, and a Boy ſent into the Stable to call *William*, and to ſhew him his Chamber; who was very glad to be there, freed from ſo much Company as was below. Mrs *Lane* was put to find ſome excuſe for making a viſit at

They came ſafe to Mr Norton's *through* Briſtol.

that time of the year, and so many days Journey from her Father, and where she had never been before, though the Mistress of the House and she had been bred together, and Friends as well as Kindred. She pretended "That she was, after a "little rest to go into *Dorset-shire* to another Friend. When it was Supper time, there being Broth brought to the Table, Mrs *Lane* fill'd a little dish, and desir'd the Butler, who waited at the Table, "To carry that dish of *Porridge* to *William*, "and to tell him that he should have some Meat sent to him "presently. The Butler carried the Porridge into the Chamber with a Napkin, and Spoon, and Bread, and spoke kindly to the young Man; who was willing to be eating.

The King is known to the Butler of the House.

THE Butler looking narrowly upon him, fell upon his knees, and with tears told him, "He was glad to see his Ma- "jesty. The King was infinitely surprised, yet recollected himself enough to laugh at the Man, and to ask him "What "he meant? The Man had been Falconer to Sr *Thomas Jermyn*, and made it appear that he knew well enough to whom he spoke, repeating some particulars, which the King had not forgot. Whereupon the King conjur'd him "Not to speak of "what he knew, so much as to his Master, though he believ'd "him a very honest Man. The Fellow promised, and kept his word; and the King was the better waited upon during the time of his abode there.

Dr GORGES, the King's Chaplain, being a Gentleman of a good Family near that place, and ally'd to Mr *Norton*, supp'd with them, and being a Man of a chearful Conversation, ask'd Mrs *Lane* many questions concerning *William*, of whom he saw she was so careful by sending up Meat to him "How long "his Ague had been gone? and whether he had purged since it left him? and the like; to which she gave such Answers as occurr'd. The Doctor from the final prevalence of the Parliament, had, as many others of that Function had done, declined his Profession, and pretended to study Physick. Assoon as Supper was done, out of good Nature, and without telling any Body, he went to see *William*. The King saw him coming into the Chamber, and withdrew to the inside of the Bed, that he might be fartheſt from the Candle, and the Doctor came, and sate down by him, felt his Pulse, and ask'd him many Questions, which he answer'd in as few words as was possible, and expressing great inclination to go to his Bed; to which the Doctor left him, and went to Mrs *Lane*, and told her, "That he had been with *William*, and that he would do "well; and advised her, what she should do if his Ague return'd. The next Morning, the Doctor went away, so that the King saw him no more. The next day the Lord *Wilmot* came to the House with his Hawk, to see Mrs *Lane*, and so conferr'd

conferr'd with *William*; who was to consider what he was to do. They thought it necessary to rest some days, till they were inform'd what Port lay most convenient for them, and what Person liv'd nearest to it, upon whose Fidelity they might rely: And the King gave him directions to enquire after some Persons, and some other particulars, of which when he should be fully instructed, he should return again to him. In the mean time, *Wilmot* lodged at a House not far from Mr *Norton's*, to which he had been recommended.

After some days stay here, and communication between the King and the Lord *Wilmot* by Letters, the King came to know that Colonel *Francis Windham* liv'd within little more than a days Journey of the place where he was; of which he was very glad; for besides the inclination he had to his elder Brother, whose Wife had been his Nurse, this Gentleman had behaved himself very well during the War, and had been Governour of *Dunstar* Castle, where the King had lodg'd when he was in the West. After the end of the War, when all other places were Surrender'd in that County, He likewise Surrender'd That, upon fair Conditions, and made his Peace, and afterwards Married a Wife with a competent Fortune, and liv'd quietly, without any suspicion of having lessen'd his affection towards the King.

The King sent *Wilmot* to him, and acquainted him where he was, and "That he would gladly speak with him. It was not hard for him to choose a good place where to meet, and thereupon the day was appointed. After the King had taken his leave of Mrs *Lane*, who remain'd with her Cousin *Norton*, the King, and the Lord *Wilmot*, met the Colonel; and, in the way, he met in a Town, through which they passed, Mr *Kirton*, a Servant of the King's who well knew the Lord *Wilmot*, who had no other disguise than the Hawk, but took no notice of him, nor suspected the King to be there; yet that day made the King more wary of having him in his Company upon the Way. At the place of meeting, they rested onely one Night, and then the King went to the Colonel's House; where he rested many days, whilst the Colonel projected at what place the King might Embark, and how they might procure a Vessel to be ready there; which was not easy to find; there being so great a fear possessing those who were honest, that it was hard to procure any Vessel that was outward bound to take in any Passenger.

The King goes to Colonel Francis Windham's *House.*

There was a Gentleman, one Mr *Ellison*, who liv'd near *Lymne* in *Dorset-shire*, and was well known to Colonel *Windham*, having been a Captain in the King's Army, and was still look'd upon as a very honest Man. With him the Colonel consulted, how they might get a Vessel to be ready to take in a couple

couple of Gentlemen, Friends of his, who were in danger to be Arrested, and Transport them into *France*. Though no Man would ask who the Persons were, yet it could not but be suspected who they were, at least they concluded, that it was some of *Worcester* Party. *Lyme* was generally as malicious and disaffected a Town to the King's Interest, as any Town in *England* could be: yet there was in it a Master of a Bark, of whose honesty this Captain was very confident. This Man was lately return'd from *France*, and had unladen his Vessel, when *Ellison* ask'd him, "When he would make another Voyage? And he answer'd, "Assoon as he could get Lading for his Ship. The other ask'd, "Whether he would undertake to carry over a "couple of Gentlemen, and Land them in *France*, if he might "be as well paid for his Voyage as he used to be when he was "fraighted by the Merchants. In conclusion, he told him, "he should receive fifty pounds for his Fare: The large recompense had that effect, that the Man undertook it; though he said "He must make his provision very secretly; for that he "might be well suspected for going to Sea again without be-"ing fraighted, after he was so newly return'd. Colonel *Windham*, being advertised of this, came together with the Lord *Wilmot* to the Captain's House, from whence the Lord and the Captain rid to a House near *Lyme*; where the Master of the Bark met them; and the Lord *Wilmot* being satisfied with the discourse of the Man, and his wariness in foreseeing suspicions, which would arise, it was resolv'd that on such a Night, which, upon consideration of the Tydes, it was agreed upon, the Man should draw out his Vessel from the Peer, and, being at Sea, should come to such a point about a Mile from the Town, where his Ship should remain upon the Beach when the Water was gone: which would take it off again about break of day the next Morning. There was very near that Point, even in the view of it, a small Inn, kept by a Man who was reputed honest, to which the Cavaliers of the Country often resorted; and *London* Road passed that way; so that it was seldom without Company. Into that Inn the two Gentlemen were to come in the beginning of the Night, that they might put themselves on board. All things being thus concerted, and good earnest given to the Master, the Lord *Wilmot* and the Colonel return'd to the Colonel's House, above a days Journey from the place, the Captain undertaking every day to look that the Master should provide, and, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, to give the Colonel notice at such a place, where they intended the King should be the day before he was to Embark.

THE King, being satisfied with these preparations, came at the time appointed, to that House where he was to hear that all went as it ought to do; of which he receiv'd assurance from the Captain; who found that the Man had honestly put his Provisions on Board, and had his Company ready, which were but four Men; and that the Vessel should be drawn out that Night: So that it was fit for the two Persons to come to the aforesaid Inn, and the Captain conducted them within sight of it; and then went to his own House, not distant a Mile from it; the Colonel remaining still at the House where they had lodg'd the Night before, till he might hear the news of their being Embarked.

Thence he is brought to an Inn near Lyme; *and a Ship hired by Captain* Ellison.

THEY found many Passengers in the Inn; and so were to be contented with an ordinary Chamber, which they did not intend to sleep long in. But assoon as there appear'd any light, *Wilmot* went out to discover the Bark, of which there was no appearance. In a word, the Sun arose, and nothing like a Ship in view. They sent to the Captain, who was as much amaz'd; and he sent to the Town; and his Servant could not find the Master of the Bark, which was still in the Peer. They suspected the Captain, and the Captain suspected the Master. However, it being past ten of the Clock, they concluded it was not fit for them to stay longer there, and so they mounted their Horses again to return to the House where they had left the Colonel, who, they knew, resolv'd to stay there till he were assur'd that they were gone.

The Ship fail'd by an accident; and the King left the Inn.

THE truth of the disappointment was this; the Man meant honestly, and made all things ready for his departure; and the Night he was to go out with his Vessel, he had stay'd in his own House, and slept two or three hours, and the time of the Tyde being come, that it was necessary to be on Board, he took out of a Cupboard some Linnen, and other things, which he used to carry with him to Sea. His Wife had observ'd, that he had been for some days fuller of thoughts than he used to be, and that he had been speaking with Sea-men, who used to go with him, and that some of them had carried Provisions on Board the Bark; of which she had ask'd her Husband the reason; who had told her, "That he was promised "fraight speedily, and therefore he would make all things "ready. She was sure that there was yet no lading in the Ship, and therefore, when she saw her Husband take all those Materials with him, which was a sure sign that he meant to go to Sea, and it being late in the Night, she shut the door, and swore he should not go out of his House. He told her, "He "must go, and was engaged to go to Sea that Night; for "which he should be well paid. His Wife told him, "She "was sure he was doing somewhat that would undo him, and

"she

"she was resolv'd he should not go out of his House; and if "he should persist in it, she would tell the Neighbours, and "carry him before the Mayor to be examin'd, that the truth "might be found out. The poor Man, thus master'd by the passion and violence of his Wife, was forced to yield to her, that there might be no farther noise; and so went into his bed.

AND it was very happy that the King's jealousy hasten'd him from that Inn. It was the solemn Fast Day, which was observ'd in those times principally to enflame the People against the King, and all those who were Loyal to him, and there was a Chappel in that Village over against that Inn, where a Weaver, who had been a Soldier, used to Preach, and utter all the Villainy imaginable against the old Order of Government: and he was then in the Chappel Preaching to his Congregation, when the King went from thence, and telling the People "That *Charles Stuart* was lurking somewhere in that "Country, and that they would merit from God Almighty, "if they could find him out. The Passengers, who had lodg'd in the Inn that Night, had, assoon as they were up, sent for a Smith to visit their Horses, it being a hard Frost. The Smith, when he had done what he he was sent for, according to the custom of that People, examin'd the feet of the other two Horses to find more work. When he had observ'd them, he told the Host of the House, "That one of those Horses "had travell'd far; and that he was sure that his four Shoes "had been made in four several Counties; which, whether his skill was able to discover or no, was very true. The Smith going to the Sermon told this story to some of his Neighbours; and so it came to the Ears of the Preacher, when his Sermon was done. Immediately he sent for an Officer, and search'd the Inn, and enquired for those Horses, and being inform'd that they were gone, he caused Horses to be sent to follow them, and to make enquiry after the two Men who rid those Horses, and positively declar'd "That one of "them was *Charles Stuart*.

Like to be discover'd by a Smith shoing their Horses.

WHEN they came again to the Colonel, they presently concluded that they were to make no longer stay in those parts, nor any more to endeavour to find a Ship upon that Coast; and without any farther delay, they rode back to the Colonel's House; where they arriv'd in the Night. Then they resolv'd to make their next attempt in *Hampshire*, and *Sussex*, where Colonel *Windham* had no Interest. They must pass through all *Wiltshire* before they came thither; which would require many days Journey: and they were first to consider what honest Houses there were in or near the way, where they might securely repose; and it was thought very dangerous

The King goes back to the Colonel's House.

dangerous for the King to ride through any great Town, as *Salisbury*, or *Winchester*, which might probably lie in their way.

THERE was between that and *Salisbury* a very honeſt Gentleman, Colonel *Robert Philips*, a younger Brother of a very good Family, which had always been very Loyal; and he had ſerv'd the King during the War. The King was reſolv'd to truſt him; and ſo ſent the Lord *Wilmot* to a place from whence he might ſend to Mr *Philips* to come to him, and when he had ſpoken with him, Mr *Philips* ſhould come to the King, and *Wilmot* was to ſtay in ſuch a place as they two ſhould agree. Mr *Philips* accordingly came to the Colonel's Houſe; which he could do without ſuſpicion, they being nearly ally'd. The ways were very full of Soldiers; which were ſent now from the Army to their Quarters, and many Regiments of Horſe and Foot were aſſign'd for the Weſt; of which diviſion *Desborough* was Commander in chief. Theſe marches were like to laſt for many days, and it would not be fit for the King to ſtay ſo long in that place. Thereupon, he reſorted to his old Security of taking a Woman behind him, a Kinſwoman of Colonel *Windham*, whom he carried in that manner to a place not far from *Salisbury*; to which Colonel *Philips* conducted him. In this Journey he paſſed through the middle of a Regiment of Horſe; and, preſently after, met *Desborough* walking down a Hill with three or four Men with him; who had lodged in *Salisbury* the night before; all that Road being full of Soldiers.

The King ſends Wilmot for Robert Philips.

Who conducts him to a place near Salisbury.

THE next day, upon the Plains, Dr *Hinchman*, one of the Prebends of *Salisbury*, met the King, the Lord *Wilmot* and *Philips* then leaving him to go to the Sea Coaſt to find a Veſſel, the Dr conducting the King to a place called *Heale*, three miles from *Salisbury*, belonging then to Serjeant *Hyde*, who was afterwards Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and then in the poſſeſſion of the Widow of his elder Brother; a Houſe that ſtood alone from Neighbours, and from any high way; where coming in late in the Evening, he ſupp'd with ſome Gentlemen who accidentally were in the Houſe; which could not well be avoided. But, the next Morning, he went early from thence, as if he had continued his Journey; and the Widow, being truſted with the knowledge of her Gueſt, ſent her Servants out of the way; and, at an hour appointed, receiv'd him again, and accommodated him in a little Room, which had been made ſince the beginning of the Troubles for the concealment of Delinquents, the Seat always belonging to a Malignant Family.

Dr Hinchman *meets the King on the Plains; and conducts him to* Heale *Mrs* Hyde's *Houſe.*

HERE he lay conceal'd without the knowledge of ſome Gentlemen, who liv'd in the Houſe, and of others who daily reſorted

resorted thither, for many days, the Widow her self only attending him with such things as were necessary, and bringing him such Letters as the Doctor receiv'd from the Lord *Wilmot*, and Colonel *Philips*. A Vessel being at last provided upon the Coast of *Sussex*, and notice thereof sent to Dr *Hinchman*, he sent to the King to meet him at *Stone-henge* upon the Plains three miles from *Heale*; whither the Widow took care to direct him; and being there met, he attended him to the place where colonel *Philips* receiv'd him. He, the next day, deliver'd him to the Lord *Wilmot*; who went with him to a House in *Sussex*, recommended by Colonel *Gunter*, a Gentleman of that Country, who had serv'd the King in the War; who met him there; and had provided a little Bark at *Bright-hemsted*, a small Fisher Town; where he went early on Board, and, by God's Blessing, arriv'd safely in *Normandy*.

Thence to a house in Sussex near Bright-hemsted; where a Bark was provided by Colonel Gunter. He arrives in Normandy in a small Creek in Novemb.

THE Earl of *Southampton*, who was then at his House at *Titchfield* in *Hampshire*, had been advertised of the King's being in the West, and of his missing his passage at *Lyme*, and sent a trusty Gentleman to those Faithful Persons in the Country, who he thought, were most like to be employ'd for his Escape if he came into those parts, to let them know, "That he had a "Ship ready, and if the King came to him, he should be safe; which advertisement came to the King the Night before he Embarked, and when his Vessel was ready. But his Majesty ever acknowledged the obligation with great kindness, he being the only Person of that Condition, who had the Courage to sollicite such danger, though all good Men heartily wished his deliverance. It was in *November*, that the King landed in *Normandy*, in a small Creek; from whence he got to *Roan*, and then gave notice to the Queen of his arrival, and freed his Loyal Subjects in all places from their dismal Apprehensions.

THOUGH this wonderful deliverance and preservation of the Person of the King, was an Argument of general Joy and Comfort to all his good Subjects, and a new seed of hope for future Blessings, yet his present Condition was very deplorable. *France* was not at all pleased with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The Queen his Mother was very glad of his Escape, but in no degree able to contribute towards his Support; they who had Interest with her, finding all she had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited Expence. Besides, the distraction that Court had been lately in, and was not yet free from the effects of, made her Pension to be paid with less punctuality than it had used to be; so that she was forced to be in debt both to her Servants, and for the very Provisions of her House; nor had the King

King one ſhilling towards the Support of Himſelf, and his Family.

ASSOON as his Majeſty came to *Paris*, and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at *Antwerp*, he commanded *Seymour*, who was of his Bed Chamber, to ſend to him to repair thither; which whilſt he was providing to do, Mr *Long*, the King's Secretary, who was at *Amſterdam*, and had been remov'd, from his Attendance in *Scotland* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, writ to the Chancellor, "That he had receiv'd a Let-"ter from the King, by which he was requir'd to let all his "Majeſty's Servants who were in thoſe parts, know, it was "his pleaſure that none of them ſhould repair to him to *Paris*, "until they ſhould receive farther order, ſince his Majeſty "could not yet reſolve how long he ſhould ſtay there: of "which, Mr *Long* ſaid, "He thought it his duty to give him "notice; with this, that the Lord *Colepepper* and himſelf, who "had reſolv'd to have made haſte thither, had in obedience to "this command laid aſide that purpoſe. The Chancellor concluded that this inhibition concern'd not Him, ſince he had receiv'd a command from the King to wait upon him. Beſides, he had ſtill the Character of Embaſſadour upon him, which he could not lay down till he had kiſſed his Majeſty's hand. So he purſued his former purpoſe, and came to *Paris* in the *Chriſtmas*, and found that the command to Mr *Long* had been procured with an eye principally upon the Chancellor, there being ſome there who had no mind he ſhould be with the King; though, when there was no remedy, the Queen receiv'd him graciouſly. But the King was very well pleaſed with his being come; and, for the firſt four or five days, he ſpent many hours with him in private, and inform'd him of very many particulars, of the harſh treatment he had receiv'd in *Scotland*, the reaſon of his march into *England*, the confuſion at *Worceſter*, and all the circumſtances of his happy eſcape and deliverance; many parts whereof are comprehended in this relation, and are exactly true. For beſides all thoſe particulars which the King himſelf was pleaſed to Communicate to him, ſo ſoon after the Tranſactions of them, when they had made ſo lively an impreſſion in his memory, and of which the Chancellor at that time kept a very punctual Memorial; he had, at the ſame time, the daily converſation of the Lord *Wilmot*; who inform'd him of all he could remember: and ſometimes the King and He recollected many particulars in the diſcourſe together, in which the King's memory was much better than the other's. And after the King's bleſſed return into *England*, he had frequent conferences with many of thoſe who had acted ſeveral parts towards the Eſcape; whereof ſome were of the Chancellor's neareſt Alliance, and others

The King ſends to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repair to him at Paris.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to him in Chriſtmas *at* Paris.

Where he receives from the King this account of his Majeſty's Deliverance.

others his moſt intimate Friends; towards whom his Majeſty always made many gracious expreſſions of his acknowledgement: ſo that there is nothing in this ſhort relation the verity whereof can juſtly be ſuſpected, though, as is ſaid before, it is great pity, that there could be no Diary made, indeed no exact Account of every Hour's adventure from the coming out of *Worceſter*, in that diſmal confuſion, to the hour of his Embarkation at *Bright-hemſted*; in which there was ſuch a concurrence of good nature, charity, and generoſity in Perſons of the meaneſt and loweſt extraction and condition, who did not know the value of the precious Jewel that was in their cuſtody, yet all knew him to be eſcaped from ſuch an Action as would make the diſcovery and delivery of him to thoſe who govern'd over and amongſt them, of great benefit, and preſent advantage to them; and in thoſe who did know him, of ſuch Courage, Loyalty, and Activity, that all may reaſonably look upon the whole, as the inſpiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifeſtation of his Power and Glory, and for the conviction of the whole Party, which had ſinn'd ſo grievouſly; and if it hath not wrought that effect in them, it hath render'd them the more inexcuſable.

As the greateſt Brunt of the danger was diverted by theſe poor People, in his Night-marches on foot, with ſo much pain and torment, that he often thought that he paid too dear a price for his Life, before he fell into the hands of Perſons of better Quality, and places of more conveniency, ſo he owed very much to the diligence and fidelity of ſome Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of the Romiſh perſwaſion; eſpecially to thoſe of the Order of St *Bennet*; which was the reaſon that he expreſſed more favours, after his Reſtauration, to that Order than to any other, and granted them ſome extraordinary Privileges about the Service of the Queen, not concealing the reaſon why he did ſo; which ought to have ſatisfied all Men, that his Majeſty's indulgence towards all of that profeſſion, by reſtraining the ſeverity and rigour of the Laws which had been formerly made againſt them, had its riſe from a Fountain of Princely juſtice and gratitude, and of Royal bounty and clemency.

The Affairs of Ireland *at this time.*

WHILST the Counſels and Enterpriſes in *Scotland* and *England*, had this woeful iſſue, *Ireland* had no better Succeſs in its Undertakings. *Cromwell* had made ſo great a Progreſs in his Conqueſts, before he left that Kingdom to viſit *Scotland*, that he was become, upon the matter, entirely poſſeſſed of the two moſt valuable, and beſt inhabited Provinces, *Lemſter*, and *Munſter*; and plainly diſcern'd, that what remain'd to be done, if dexterouſly conducted, would be with moſt eaſe brought to paſs by the folly, and perfidiouſneſs of the *Iriſh* themſelves; who would ſave their Enemies a labour, in contributing

tributing to, and haſtning their own deſtruction. He had made the Bridge fair, eaſy, and ſafe for them to paſs over into forreign Countries, by Levies and Tranſportations; which liberty they embraced, as hath been ſaid before, with all imaginable greedineſs: and he had entertain'd Agents and Spies, as well Fryars, as others amongſt the *Iriſh*, who did not only give him timely advertiſment of what was concluded to be done, but had intereſt and power enough to interrupt, and diſturb the conſultations, and to obſtruct the execution thereof: and having put all things in this hopeful Method of proceeding, in which there was like to be more uſed of the Halter than the Sword, he commited the managing of the reſt, and the Government of the Kingdom, to his Son in Law *Ireton*; whom he made Deputy under him of *Ireland*: a Man, who knew the bottom of all his Counſels and Purpoſes, and was of the ſame, or a greater pride and fierceneſs in his Nature, and moſt inclined to purſue thoſe Rules, in the forming whereof he had had the chief influence. And He, without fighting a Battle, though he liv'd not many Months after, reduced moſt of the reſt that *Cromwell* left unfiniſhed.

Ireton made Lord Deputy by Cromwell.

THE Marquis of *Ormond* knew, and underſtood well the deſperate condition and ſtate he was in, when he had no other ſtrength and power to depend upon, than that of the *Iriſh*, for the ſupport of the King's Authority: yet there were many of the Nobility, and principal Gentry of the *Iriſh*, in whoſe Loyalty towards the King, and Affection and Frienſhip towards his own Perſon, he had juſtly all confidence; and there were amongſt the Romiſh Clergy ſome moderate Men, who did deteſt the ſavage ignorance of the reſt: ſo that he entertain'd ſtill ſome hope, that the Wiſer would by degrees convert the Weaker, and that they would all underſtand how inſeparable their own preſervation and intereſt was from the ſupport of the King's Dignity and Authority, and that the wonderful Judgments of God, which were every day executed by *Ireton* upon the principal, and moſt obſtinate Contrivers of their odious Rebellion, and who perverſly and peeviſhly oppoſed their return to their obedience to the King, as often as they fell into his power, would awaken them out of their Sottiſh Lethargy, and unite them in the defence of their Nation. For there was ſcarce a Man, whoſe bloody and bruti ſh behaviour in the beginning of the Rebellion, or whoſe barbarous Violation of the Peace that had been conſented to, had exempted them from the King's Mercy, and left them only Subjects of his Juſtice, aſſoon as they could be apprehended, who was not taken by *Ireton*, and hanged with all the circumſtances of Severity that was due to their wickedneſs; of which innumerable Examples might be given.

The Marquis of Ormond's condition there.

THERE yet remain'd free from *Cromwell's* Yoke, the two large Provinces of *Connaught* and of *Ulster*, and the two ſtrong Cities of *Limrick* and of *Galloway*, both Garriſon'd with *Iriſh*, and excellently ſupplied with all things neceſſary for their defence, and many other good Port Towns, and other ſtrong places; all which pretended and profeſſed to be for the King, and to yield obedience to the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Majeſty's Lieutenant. And there were ſtill many good Regiments of Horſe and Foot together under *Preſton*, who ſeem'd to be ready to perform any Service the Marquis ſhould require: ſo that he did reaſonably hope, that by complying with ſome of their humours, by Sacrificing ſomewhat of his Honour, and much of his Authority, to their jealouſy and peeviſhneſs, he ſhould be able to draw ſuch a ſtrength together, as would give a ſtop to *Ireton's* Career. *O Neile* at this time, after he had been ſo baffled and affronted by the Parliament, and after he had ſeen his boſome Friend, and ſole Councellor, the Biſhop of *Clogher* (who had managed the Treaty with *Monk*, and was taken Priſoner upon the defeat of his Forces) hanged, drawn, and quarter'd as a Traytor, ſent "To offer his Service "to the Marquis of *Ormond* with the Army under his Com- "mand, upon ſuch conditions as the Marquis thought fit to "ſend to him; and it was reaſonably believ'd that he did intend very ſincerely, and would have done very good Service; for he was the beſt Solider of the Nation, and had the moſt command over his Men, and was beſt obey'd by them. But, as he was upon his march towards a conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant, he fell ſick; and, in a few days, died: ſo that that Treaty produced no effect; for though many of his Army proſecuted his reſolution, and joyn'd with the Marquis of *Ormond*, yet their Officers had little power over their Soldiers; who, being all of the old *Iriſh* Septs of *Ulſter*, were entirely govern'd by the Fryars, and were ſhortly after prevail'd upon, either to Tanſport themſelves, or to retire to their Bogs, and prey for themſelves upon all they met, without diſtinction of Perſons or Intereſt.

Owen Row O Neile *died, as he was going to joyn with the Marquis of* Ormond.

THE Marquis's Orders for drawing the Troops together to any Rendezvous, were totally neglected and diſobey'd; and the Commiſſioner's Orders for the collection of Money, and contribution in ſuch proportions as had been ſettled and agreed unto, were as much contemn'd: ſo that ſuch Regiments, as with great difficulty were brought together, were aſſoon diſſolv'd for want of pay, order, and accommodation; or elſe diſperſed by the power of the Fryars; as in the City of *Limrick*, when the Marquis was there, and had appointed ſeveral Companies to be drawn into the Market-place, to be employ'd upon a preſent Expedition, an Officer of good Affe-

ctions, and thought to have much credit with his Soldiers, brought with him two hundred very likely Soldiers well arm'd, and disciplin'd, and having receiv'd his Orders from the Marquis (who was upon the place) begun to march; when a Franciscan Fryar in his habit, and with a Crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the Company, and Commanded them all, "Upon pain of damnation, that they should not "march: upon which they all threw down their Arms, and did as the Fryar directed them; who put the whole City into a Mutiny: insomuch as the Lord Lieutenant was compell'd to go out of it, and not without some difficulty escaped; though most of the Magistrates of the City did all that was in their power to suppress the disorder, and to reduce the People to obedience; and some of them were kill'd, and many wounded in the Attempt. As an instance of those judgments from Heaven which we lately mention'd in general, *Patrick Fanning* who with the Fryar had the principal part in that Sedition, the very next Night after *Ireton* was possessed of that strong City, was apprehended, and the next day hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd. Such of the Commissioners who adhered firmly to the Lord Lieutenant, in using all their power to advance the King's Service, and to reduce their miserable Country-men from effecting, and contriving their own destruction, were without any credit, and all their Warrants and Summons neglected; when the others, who declin'd the Service, and desir'd to obstruct it, had all respect and submission paid to them.

A Mutiny in Limrick, whence the Marquis of Ormond escaped.

THEY who appear'd, after the first misfortune before *Dublin*, to corrupt, and mislead, and dishearten the People, were the Fryars, and some of their inferior Clergy. But now the titulor Bishops, who had been all made at *Rome* since the begining of the Rebellion, appear'd more active than the other. They call an Assembly of the Bishops (every one of which had sign'd the Articles of the Peace) and chose some of their Clergy as a Representative of their Church to meet at *James* Town; where under the pretence of providing for the security of Religion, they examin'd the whole proceedings of the War, and how the Monies which had been collected, had been issued out. They call'd the giving up the Towns in *Munster* by the Lord *Inchiquin*'s Officers, "The Conspiracy "and Treachery of all the *English*, out of their malice to Ca-"tholick Religion; and thereupon press'd the Lord Lieutenant to dismis all the *English* Gentlemen who yet remain'd with him. They call'd every unprosperous Accident that had fallen out, "A foul Miscarriage; and publish'd a Declaration full of libellous Invectives against the *English*, without sparing the Person of the Lord Lieutenant; who, they said, "Being "of a contrary Religion, and a known inveterate Enemy to

The Popish Bishops make an Assembly, and publish a Declaration against the English.

"the Catholick, was not fit to be intrusted, with the conduct "of a War that was raised for the support, and preservation of it; and shortly after sent an Address to the Lord Lieutenant himself, in which they told him, "That the People were "so far unsatisfied with his conduct, especially for his aversion "from the Catholick Religion, and his favouring Hereticks, "that they were unanimously resolv'd, as one Man, not to "submit any longer to his Command, nor to raise any more "Money, or Men, to be apply'd to the King's Service under "his Authority. But, on the other side, they assured him, "that their Duty and Zeal was so entire, and real for the King, "and their Resolution so absolute never to withdraw themselves from his Obedience, that, if he would depart the "Kingdom, and commit the Command thereof into the hands "of any Person of Honour of the Catholick Religion, he "would thereby unite the whole Nation to the King; and "they would immediately raise an Army that should drive "*Ireton* quickly again into *Dublin*; and that the Lord Lieutenant might know that they would not depart from this determination, they publish'd soon after an Excommunication against all Persons who should obey any of the Lieutenant's Orders, or raise Money or Men by virtue of his Authority.

They declare to the Lord Lieutenant they will no longer submit to him, and require him to commit the Government to a Roman Catholick.

DURING all these Agitations, many of the Roman Catholick Nobility, and other Persons of the best Quality, remain'd very faithful to the Lord Lieutenant; and cordially interpos'd with the Popish Bishops to prevent their violent proceedings; but had not power either to perswade, or restrain them. The Lord Lieutenant had no reason to be delighted with his Empty Title to Command a People who would not obey, and knew the daily danger he was in, of being betray'd, and deliver'd into the hands of *Ireton*, or being Assassinated in his own Quarters, and though he did not believe that the *Irish* would behave themselves with more Fidelity, and Courage for the King's Interest, when he should be gone; well knowing that their Bishops and Clergy design'd nothing but to put themselves under the Government of some Popish Prince, and had at that time sent Agents into Forreign Parts for that purpose; yet he knew likewise that there were in truth Men enough, and Arms, and all Provisions for the carrying on the War, who, if they were united, and heartily resolv'd to preserve themselves, would be much superior in number to any power *Ireton* could bring against them. He knew likewise, that he could safely depose the King's Authority in the hands of a Person of unquestionable Fidelity, whom the King would, without any scruple, trust, and whom the *Irish* could not except against, being of their own Nation, of the greatest Fortune and Interest amongst them, and

and of the moſt eminent Conſtancy to the Roman Catholick Religion of any Man in the three Kingdoms; and that was the Marquis of *Clanrickard*. And therefore, ſince it was to no purpoſe to ſtay longer there himſelf, and it was in his power ſafely to make the experiment, whether the *Iriſh* would in truth perform what was in their power to perform, and which they ſo ſolemnly promiſed to do, he thought he ſhould be inexcuſable to the King, if he ſhould not conſent to that Expedient. The great difficulty was to perſwade the Marquis of *Clanrickard* to accept the truſt, who was a Man, though of an unqueſtionable Courage, yet, of an infirm Health; and lov'd, and enjoy'd great eaſe throughout his whole Life; and of a Conſtitution not equal to the fatigue, and diſtreſſes, that the conducting ſuch a War muſt ſubject him to. He knew well, and exceedingly deteſted, the levity, inconſtancy, and infidelity of his Country-men; nor did he in any degree like the preſumption of the Popiſh Biſhops, and Clergy, and the Exorbitant Power which they had aſſumed, and uſurped to themſelves; and therefore he had no mind to engage himſelf in ſuch a Command. But by the extraordinary importunity of the Marquis of *Ormond*, with whom he had preſerv'd a faſt and unſhaken Friendſhip, and his preſſing him to preſerve *Ireland* to the King, without which it would throw it ſelf into the Arms of a Forreigner; and then the ſame importunity from all the *Iriſh* Nobility, Biſhops, and Clergy (after the Lord Lieutenant had inform'd them of his purpoſe) "That he would preſerve his Nation, which without his Ac- "ceptance of their Protection, would infallibly be extirpated, and their joynt promiſe "That they would abſolutely ſubmit "to all his Commands, and hold no aſſembly, or meeting "amongſt themſelves, without his Permiſſion and Commiſſion, together with his unqueſtionable deſire to do any thing, how contrary ſoever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the King, and might poſſibly bring ſome advantage to his Majeſty's Service, he was in the end prevail'd upon to receive a Commiſſion from the Lord Lieutenant to be Deputy of *Ireland*, and undertook that Charge.

The Marquis of Ormond *makes the Marquis of* Clanrickard *his Deputy.*

How well they complied afterwards with their promiſes, and proteſtations, and how much better Subjects they prov'd to be under their Catholick Governour, than they had been under their Proteſtant, will be related at large hereafter. In the mean time the Marquis of *Ormond* would not receive a Paſs from *Ireton*, who would willingly have granted it, as he did to all the *Engliſh* Officers that deſir'd it; but Embark'd himſelf, with ſome few Gentlemen beſides his own Servants, in a ſmall Frigat, and arriv'd ſafely in *Normandy*; and ſo went

The Marquis of Ormond Embarks for France, and waits on the King at Paris after his Majesty's escape from Worcester.

went to *Caen*; where his Wife and Family had remain'd from the time of his departure thence. This was shortly after the King's defeat at *Worcester*, and, assoon as his Majesty arriv'd at *Paris*, he forthwith attended him, and was most wellcome to him.

Scotland being subdued, and *Ireland* reduced to that Obedience as the Parliament could wish, nothing could be expected to be done in *England* for the King's advantage. From the time that *Cromwell* was chosen General in the place of *Fairfax*, he took all occasions to discountenance the Presbyterians, and to put them out of all Trust and Imployment, as well in the Country as in the Army; and, whilst he was in *Scotland*, he had intercepted some Letters from one *Love*, a Presbyterian Minister in *London* (a Fellow who hath been mention'd before, in the time the Treaty was at *Uxbridge*, for Preaching against Peace) to a leading Preacher in *Scotland*; and sent such an information against him, with so many successive Instances that Justice might be exemplarily done upon him, that, in spight of all the opposition which the Presbyterians could make, who appear'd publickly with their utmost power, the Man was Condemn'd and Executed upon *Tower-hill*. And to shew their impartiality, about the same time they Executed *Brown Bushel*, who had formerly serv'd the Parliament in the beginning of the Rebellion, and shortly after serv'd the King to the end of the War, and had liv'd some years in *England* after the War expir'd, untaken notice of, but, upon this occasion, was enviously discover'd, and put to death.

Love, a Presbyterian Minister executed.

It is a wonderful thing what operation this Presbyterian Spirit had upon the minds of those who were possessed by it. This poor Man *Love*, who had been guilty of as much Treason against the King, from the beginning of the Rebellion, as the Pulpit could contain, was so much without remorse for any wickedness of that kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing so much, as of being suspected to repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his Affection to the King. And therefore when he was upon the Scaffold, where he appear'd with a marvellous undauntedness, he seem'd so much delighted with the memory of all that he had done against the late King, and against the Bishops, that he could not even then forbear to speak with Animosity and Bitterness against both, and expressed great satisfaction in mind for what he had done against them, and was as much transported with the inward joy of mind, that he felt in being brought thither to die as a Martyr, and to give testimony for the Covenant; "Whatsoever he had done being in the pursuit of the ends, he said, "of that Sanctified Obligation, to which he was in

"and

"and by his Conſcience engaged. And in this raving fit, without ſo much as praying for the King, otherwiſe than that he might propagate the Covenant, he laid his Head upon the block with as much Courage as the braveſt, and honeſteſt Man could do in the moſt Pious occaſion.

Cromwell causes ſeveral High Courts of Juſtice to be erected.

WHEN *Cromwell* return'd to *London*, he cauſed ſeveral High Courts of Juſtice to be erected, by which many Gentlemen of Quality were Condemn'd, and Executed in many parts of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*, who had been taken Priſoners at *Worceſter*, or diſcover'd to have been there. And that the Terrour might be univerſal, ſome ſuffer'd for looſe diſcourſes in Taverns, what they would do towards Reſtoring the King, and others for having blank Commiſſions found in their hands ſign'd by the King, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought appear'd, intended to do. And under theſe deſolate apprehenſions all the Royal and Loyal Party lay groveling, and proſtrate, after the defeat of *Worceſter*.

The King's neceſſities at Paris.

THERE was at this time with the King the Marquis of *Ormond*; who came thither before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though his Majeſty was now in unqueſtionable ſafety, the ſtreights and neceſſities he was in were as unqueſtionable; which expoſed him to all the troubles and uneaſineſs that the Maſters of very indigent Families are ſubjected to; and the more, becauſe all Men conſider'd only his Dignity, and not his Fortune: So that Men had the ſame Emulations, and Ambitions, as if the King had all to give which was taken from him, and thought it a good Argument for them to ask, becauſe he had nothing to give; and ask'd very improper Reverſions, becauſe he could not grant the Poſſeſſion; and were ſollicitous for Honours, which he had power to grant, becauſe he had not Fortunes to give them.

The Friendſhip between the Marquis of Ormond *and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

THERE had been a great acquaintance between the Marquis of *Ormond*, when he was Lord *Thurles*, in the life of his Grand-father, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was renew'd, by a mutual correſpondence, when they both came to have ſhares in the publick buſineſs, the one in *Ireland*, and the other in *England*: So that when they now met at *Paris*, they met as old Friends, and quickly underſtood each other ſo well, that there could not be a more entire confidence between Men. The Marquis conſulted with him in his neareſt concernments, and the Chancellor eſteem'd, and cultivated the Friendſhip with all poſſible induſtry and application. The King was abundantly ſatisfied in the Friendſhip they had for each other, and truſted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavour'd by Perſons of no ordinary Account, to break or interrupt that

mutual confidence between them, during the whole time the King remain'd beyond the Seas; whereby the King's perplexed Affairs were carried on with the leſs trouble. And the Chancellor did always acknowledge, that the benefit of this Friendſhip was ſo great to him, that, without it, he could not have borne the weight of that part of the King's buſineſs which was incumbent on him, nor the envy and reproach that attended the Truſt.

The neceſſities and factions of the Duke of York's Family.

BESIDES the wants and neceſſities which the King was preſſed with in reſpect of himſelf, who had nothing, but was obliged to find himſelf by credit in Cloaths, and all other neceſſaries for his Perſon, and of his Family, which he ſaw reduced to all extremities; he was much diſquieted by the neceſſities in his Brother the Duke of *York's* Family, and by the diſorder and faction in it. The Queen complain'd heavily of Sr *George Ratcliff*, and the Atturney; and more of the firſt, becauſe that he pretended to ſome Right of being of the Duke's Family by a Grant of the late King; which his preſent Majeſty determin'd againſt him; and reprehended his Activity in the laſt Summer. Sr *John Berkley* had moſt of the Queen's Favour; and though he had at that time no Intereſt in the Duke's Affection, he found a way to ingratiate himſelf with his Royal Highneſs, by inſinuating into him two particulars, in both which he foreſaw advantage to himſelf. Though no Man acted the Governours part more Imperiouſly than He had done whilſt the Lord *Byron* was abſent, finding that he himſelf was liable in ſome degree to be govern'd upon that Lord's return, he had uſed all the ways he could that the Duke might be exempted from any Subjection to a Governour, preſuming, that, when that Title ſhould be extinguiſhed, he ſhould be poſſeſſed of ſome ſuch Office and Relation, as ſhould not be under the Controle of any but the Duke himſelf. But he had not yet been able to bring that to paſs; which was the reaſon that he ſtay'd at *Paris* when his Highneſs viſited *Flanders* and *Holland*. Now he took advantage of the Activity of the Duke's Spirit, and infuſed into him, "That it would be for his Honour to put "himſelf into Action, and not to be learning his Exerciſes in "*Paris* whilſt the Army was in the Field: A Propoſition firſt intimated by the Cardinal, "That the Duke was now of years, "to learn his *meſtier*, and had now the opportunity to im- "prove himſelf, by being in the care of a General reputed "equal to any Captain in *Chriſtendom*, with whom he might "learn that Experience, and make thoſe Obſervations, as "might enable him to ſerve the King his Brother, who muſt "hope to recover his Right only by the Sword. This the Cardinal had ſaid both to the Queen, and to the Lord *Jermyn*, whilſt

whilſt the King was in *Scotland*, when no Man had the hardineſs to adviſe it in that conjuncture. But, after the King's Return from *England*, there wanted nothing but the Approbation of his Majeſty; and no Man more deſired it than the Lord *Byron*, who had had good Command, and preferr'd that kind of Life before that which he was obliged to live in at *Paris*. There was no need of Spurs to be employ'd to incite the Duke; who was moſt impatient to be in the Army. And therefore Sr *John Berkley* could not any other way make himſelf ſo grateful to him, as by appearing to be of that mind, and by telling the Duke, "That whoſoever oppoſed it, and "diſſwaded the King from giving his conſent, was an Enemy "to his Highneſs's Glory, and deſir'd that he ſhould live al- "ways in Pupillage; not omitting to put him in mind, "That "his very entrance into the Army ſet him at Liberty, and put "him into his own diſpoſal; ſince no Man went into the Field "under the direction of a Governour; ſtill endeavouring to improve his prejudice againſt thoſe who ſhould either diſſwade him from purſuing that Reſolution, or endeavour to perſwade the King not to approve it; "Which, he told him, could pro- "ceed from nothing but want of Affection to his Perſon. By this means he hoped to raiſe a notable diſlike in him of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he believ'd, did not like the deſign, becauſe he having ſpoken to him of it, the other had not enlarged upon it as an Argument that pleaſed him.

THE Duke preſſed it with earneſtneſs and paſſion, in which he diſſembled not; and found the Queen, as well as the King, very reſerv'd in the point; which proceeded from their tenderneſs towards him, and leſt they might be thought to be leſs concern'd for his Safety than they ought to be. His Highneſs then conferr'd with thoſe, who, he thought, were moſt like to be conſulted with by the King, amongſt whom he knew the Chancellor was one; and finding him to ſpeak with leſs warmth than the reſt, as if he thought it a matter worthy of great deliberation, his Highneſs was confirm'd in the jealouſy which Sr *John Berkley* had kindled in him, that He was the principal Perſon who obſtructed the King's Condeſcenſion. There was at that time no Man with the King who had been a Councellor to his Father, or ſworn to Himſelf, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Marquis of *Ormond*, though he had adminiſter'd the Affairs in *Ireland*, was never ſworn a Counſellor in *England*; yet his Majeſty look'd upon him in all reſpects moſt fit to adviſe him; and thought it neceſſary to form ſuch a Body, as ſhould be eſteem'd by all Men as his Privy Council, without whoſe Advice he would take no Reſolutions. The King knew the Queen

Queen would not be well pleaſed, if the Lord *Jermyn* were not one; who in all other reſpects was neceſſary to that Truſt, ſince all Addreſſes to the Court of *France* were to be made by him: And the Lord *Wilmot*, who had cultivated the King's Affection during the time of their Peregrination, and drawn many promiſes from him, and was full of projects for his Service, could not be left out. The King therefore call'd the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Jermyn*, and the Lord *Wilmot*, to the Council Board; and declar'd "That they three, toge-"ther with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſhould be con-"ſulted with in all his Affairs. The Queen very earneſtly preſſed the King, "That Sr *John Berkley* might likewiſe be "made a Counſellor; which his Majeſty would not conſent to; and thought he could not refuſe the ſame Honour to the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Byron*, or any other Perſon who ſhould wait upon him, if he granted it to Sr *John Berkley*, who had no manner of pretence.

The King appoints a new Council.

BERKLEY took this refuſal very heavily, and thought his great Parts, and the Services he had perform'd, which were known to very few, might well enough diſtinguiſh him from other Men. But becauſe he would not be thought without ſome juſt pretence which others had not, he very confidently inſiſted upon a Right he had, by a promiſe of the late King, to be Maſter of the Wards; and that Officer had uſually been of the Privy Council. The evidence he had of that promiſe, was an intercepted Letter from the late King to the Queen, which the Parliament had cauſed to be printed. In that Letter the King anſwer'd a Letter he had receiv'd from her Majeſty, in which ſhe put him in mind "That he had promiſed "her to make *Jack Berkley* (which was the ſtyle in the Letter) "Maſter of the Wards; which the King ſaid, "He won-"der'd at, ſince he could not remember that ſhe had ever "ſpoken to him to that purpoſe; implying likewiſe that he was "not fit for it. He preſſed the Chancellor of the Exchequer "to urge this matter of Right to the King (and ſaid, "The "Queen would declare the King had promiſed it to her) and "to prevail with his Majeſty to make him preſently Maſter "of the Wards; which would give him ſuch a Title to the "Board, that others could not take his being called thither as "a prejudice to them.

Sir John Berkley pretends to the Maſterſhip of the Wards.

THE Chancellor had at that time much kindneſs for him, and did really deſire to oblige him, but he durſt not urge that for a reaſon to the King, which could be none, and what he knew, as well as a Negative could be known, had no foundation of truth. For beſides that he very well knew the late King had not ſo good an opinion of Sr *John Berkley*, as he himſelf did at that time heartily wiſh, and endeavour to infuſe into

into him, the King had, after that promise was pretended to be made, granted that Office at *Oxford* to the Lord *Cottington*; who executed it as long as Offices were executed under the Grant of the Crown, and was possessed of the Title to his death. The Chancellor did therefore very earnestly endeavour to dissuade him from making that pretence and demand to the King; and told him, "The King could not at this time "do a more ungracious thing, that would lose him more "the hearts and affections of the Nobility and Gentry of "*England*, than in making a Master of the Wards, in a time "when it would not be the least Advantage to his Majesty "or the Officer, to declare that he resolv'd to insist upon that "part of his Prerogative which his Father had consented to "part with; the resuming whereof in the full rigour, which "he might lawfully do, would ruin most of the Estates of "*England*, as well of his Friends as Enemies, in regard of "the vast Arrears incurr'd in so many years; and therefore "whatever his Majesty might think to resolve hereafter, when "it should please God to restore him, for the present there "must be no thought of such an Officer.

SIR *John Berkley* was not satisfied at all with the reason that was alledged; and very unsatisfied with the unkindness (as he called it) of the refusal to interpose in it; and said, "Since his friends would not, he would himself require justice "of the King; and immediately, hearing that the King was in the next Room, went to him; and in the warmth he had contracted by the Chancellor's contradiction, pressed his Majesty, "To make good the promise his Father had made; and magnified the Services he had done; which he did really believe to have been very great, and, by the custom of making frequent relations of his own Actions, grew in very good earnest to think he had done many things which no body else ever heard of. The King who knew him very well, and believ'd little of his History, and less of his Father's promise, was willing rather to reclaim him from his importunity, than to give him a positive denial (which in his Nature his Majesty affected not) lest it might indispose his Mother or his Brother: and so, to every part of his request concerning the being of the Council, and concerning the Office, gave him such reasons against the gratifying him for the present, that he could not but plainly discern that his Majesty was very averse from it. But that consideration prevailed not with him; he used so great importunity, notwithstanding all the reasons which had been alledged, that at the last the King prevailed with himself, which he used not to do in such Cases, to give him a positive denial, and reprehension, at once; and so left him. *The King denies it him.*

ALL

ALL this he imputed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and though he knew well he had not, nor could have ſpoken with the King from the time they had ſpoken together, before himſelf had that Audience from his Majeſty, he declar'd, "That he knew all that Indiſpoſition had been infuſed by him; "becauſe many of the reaſons, which his Majeſty had given "againſt his doing what he deſir'd, were the very ſame that "the Chancellor had urged to him; though they could not but have occurr'd to any reaſonable Man, who had been called to conſult upon that Subject. This paſſion prevailed ſo far upon him, that, notwithſtanding the advice of ſome of his beſt Friends to the contrary, he took an opportunity to walk with the Chancellor ſhortly after; and, in a very calm, though a very confuſed diſcourſe, told him, "That, ſince he "was reſolv'd to break all Friendſhip with him, which had "continued now near twenty years, he thought it but juſt "to give him notice of it, that from henceforward he might "not expect any Friendſhip from him, but that they might "live towards each other with that civility only that Stran-"gers uſe to do. The Chancellor told him, "That the ſame "juſtice that diſpoſed him to give this notice, ſhould likewiſe "oblige him to declare the reaſon of this reſolution; and ask'd him, "Whether he had ever broken his word to him? or "promiſed to do what he had not done? He anſwer'd, "His "Exception was, that he could not be brought to make any "promiſe; and that their judgments were ſo different, that "he would no more depend upon him: and ſo they parted, without ever after having converſation with each other whilſt they remain'd in *France*.

Whereupon Sir John *breaks with the Chancellor.*

THE Spring was now advanced, and the Duke of *York* continued his importunity with the King, "That he might "have his leave to repair to the Army. And thereupon his Majeſty called his Council together, the Queen his Mother, and his Brother, being likewiſe preſent. There his Majeſty declar'd "What his Brother had long deſir'd of him; to which "he had hitherto given no other Anſwer, than that he would "think of it; and before he could give any other, he thought "it neceſſary to receive their advice: nor did his Majeſty in the leaſt diſcover what he himſelf was inclined to. The Duke then repeated what he had deſired of the King; and ſaid, "He "thought he ask'd nothing but what became him; if he did "not, he hoped the King would not deny it to him, and that "no body would adviſe he ſhould. The Queen ſpoke not a word; and the King deſired the Lords to deliver their opinion; who all ſate ſilent, expecting who would begin; there being no fixed Rule of the Board, but ſometimes, according to the Nature of the buſineſs, he who was firſt in place begun,

Deliberation in the Council, whether the Duke of York *ſhould go into the* French *Army.*

gun, at other times he who was last in Quality; and when it required some Debate before any opinion should be deliver'd, any Man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long silence, the King commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer to speak first. He said, "It could not be expected, "that he would deliver his opinion in a Matter that was so "much too hard for him, till he heard what others thought; "at least, till the Question was otherwise stated than it yet "seem'd to him to be. He said, "He thought the Council would "not be willing to take it upon Them to advise that the Duke "of *York*, the next Heir to the Crown, should go a Voluntier "into the *French* Army, and that the exposing himself to so "much danger, should be the effect of Their Council who "ought to have all possible tenderness for the safety of every "Branch of the Royal Family; but if the Duke of *York*, out "of his own Princely courage, and to attain experience in the "Art of War, of which there was like to be so great use, had "taken a resolution to visit the Army, and to spend that "Campaigne in it, and that the question only was, whether "the King should restrain him from that Expedition, he was "ready to declare his opinion, that his Majesty should not; "there being great difference between the King's advising him "to go, which implies an approbation, and barely suffering "him to do what his own Genius inclined him to. The King and Queen lik'd the stating of the Question, as suiting best with the tenderness they ought to have; and the Duke was as well pleased with it, since it left him at the Liberty he desired; and the Lords thought it safest for Them: and so all were pleased; and much of the prejudice which the Duke had entertain'd towards the Chancellor, was abated: and his Royal Highness, with the good liking of the *French* Court, went to the Army; where he was receiv'd by the Marshal of *Turenne*, with all possible demonstration of respect; where, in a short time, he got the reputation of a Prince of very signal Courage, and to be universally belov'd of the whole Army by his affable behaviour.

The Duke goes to the Army.

THE insupportable necessities of the King were now grown so notorious, that the *French* Court was compell'd to take notice of them; and thereupon, with some dry Compliments for the smallness of the Assignation in respect of the ill condition of their Affairs, which indeed were not in any good posture, they settled an Assignation of six thousand Livres by the Month upon the King, payable out of such a Gabel; which, being to begin six Months after the King came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily satisfied out of such a Monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The Queen, at his Majesty's

The Assignation of six thousand Livres by the month, settled upon the King by the French *Court.*

Majesty's first arrival, had declar'd, "That she was not able "to bear the charge of the King's dyet, but that he must pay "one half of the expence of her Table, where both their Ma- "jesties eat, with the Duke of *York*, and the Princess *Henri-* "*etta* (which two were at the Queen's charge till the King came thither, but from that time, the Duke of *York* was upon the King's Account) and the very first Night's Supper which the King eat with the Queen, begun the Account; and a Moiety thereof was charged to the King: so that the first Money that was receiv'd for the King upon his Grant, was entirely stopp'd by Sr *Harry Wood*, the Queen's Treasurer, for the discharge of his Majesty's part of the Queen's Table (which expence was first satisfied, as often as Money could be procured) and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted, at his first coming, for Cloaths and other Necessaries, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his Servants; the Marquis of *Ormond* himself being compell'd to put himself in Pension, with other Gentlemen, at a Pistole a Week for his dyet, and to walk the Streets on Foot, which was no honourable custom in *Paris*; whilst the Lord *Jermyn* kept an excellent Table for those who courted him, and had a Coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune; and if the King had the most urgent occasion for the Use but of twenty Pistoles, as sometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it; which he often had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from receiving the supply assign'd by the King of *France*, his Necessities would not have been so extraordinary. For when the King went to *Jersey* in order to his Journey into *Ireland*, and at the same time that he sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer into *Spain*, he sent likewise the Lord *Colepepper* into *Mosco*, to borrow Money of that Duke; and into *Poland* he sent Mr *Crofts* upon the same errand. The former return'd whilst the King was in *Scotland*; and the latter about the time that his Majesty made his escape from *Worcester*. And both of them succeeded so well in their Journey, that he who receiv'd least for his Majesty's Service, had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expence of their Journies.

How the Money was disposed that was sent the King from Mosco and Poland.

But, as if the King had been out of all possible danger to want Money, the Lord *Jermyn* had sent an Express into *Scotland*, assoon as he knew what success the Lord *Colepepper* had at *Mosco*, and found there were no less hopes from Mr *Crofts*, and procured from the King (who could with more ease grant, than deny) Warrants under his hand to both those Envoys, to pay the Monies they had receiv'd to several Persons;

ſons; whereof a conſiderable Sum was made a preſent to the Queen, more to the Lord *Jermyn*, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminiſh'd by that receipt, and all diſpoſed of according to the modeſty of the Askers; whereof Dr *Goffe* had eight hundred pounds for Services he had perform'd, and, within few days after the receipt of it changed his Religion, and became one of the Fathers of the Oratory: ſo that, when the King return'd in all that diſtreſs to *Paris*, he never receiv'd five hundred Piſtoles from the proceed of both thoſe Embaſſies; nor did any of thoſe who were ſupplied by his bounty, ſeem ſenſible of the obligation, or the more diſpoſed to do him any Service upon their own expence; of which the King was ſenſible enough, but reſolv'd to bear that and more, rather than, by entring into any Expoſtulation with thoſe who were faulty, to give any trouble to the Queen.

The Lord *Jermyn*, who, in his own judgment, was very indifferent in all matters relating to Religion, was always of ſome Faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the Presbyterians from the time that there had been any Treaties with the *Scots*, in which he had too much privity. And now, upon the King's Rerurn into *France*, he had a great deſign to perſwade his Majeſty to go to the Congregation at *Charenton*, to the end that he might keep his Intereſt in the Presbyterian Party; which he had no reaſon to believe would ever be able to do the King Service, or willing, if they were able, without ſuch odious Conditions as they had hitherto inſiſted upon in all their Overtures. The Queen did not, in the leaſt degree, oppoſe this, but rather ſeem'd to countenance it, as the beſt Expedient that might incline him, by degrees, to prefer the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. For though the Queen had never, to this time, by her ſelf, or by others with her advice, uſed the leaſt means to perſwade the King to change his Religion, as well out of obſervation of the Injunction laid upon her by the deceaſed King, as out of the conformity of her own judgment, which could not but perſwade her that the Change of his Religion would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering *England* deſperate; yet it is as true, that, from the King's return from *Worceſter*, ſhe did really deſpair of his being reſtored by the Affections of his own Subjects; and believ'd that it could never be brought to paſs without a Conjunction of Catholick Princes on his behalf, and by an united force to Reſtore him; and that ſuch a conjunction would never be enter'd into, except the King himſelf became Roman Catholick. Therefore from this time ſhe was very well content that any Attempts ſhould be made upon him to that purpoſe; and, in that regard, wiſh'd that he would go to *Charenton*; which ſhe well knew

knew was not the Religion he affected, but would be a little discountenance to the Church in which he had been bred; and from which assoon as he could be perswaded in any degree to swerve, he would be more expos'd to any other temptation.

The Ministers of Charenton press the King to come to their Church; and are seconded by the Lord Jermyn. Dr Steward dies presently after the King's return into France.

The King had not positively refused to gratify the Ministers of that Congregation; who, with great professions of Duty, had besought him to do them that Honour, before the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to him; in which it was believ'd, that they were the more like to prevail by the Death of Dr *Steward*; for whose judgment in matters of Religion the King had reverence, by the earnest recommendation of his Father: And he died after the King's Return within fourteen days, with some trouble upon the importunity and artifice he saw used to prevail with the King to go to *Charenton*, though he saw no disposition in his Majesty to yield to it.

The Lord *Jermyn* still pressed it, "As a thing that ought "in policy and discretion to be done, to reconcile that Peo- "ple, which was a great Body in *France*, to the King's Ser- "vice, which would draw to him all the Forreign Churches, "and thereby he might receive considerable Assistance. He wonder'd, he said, "Why it should be opposed by any Man; "since he did not wish that his Majesty would discontinue "his own Devotions, according to the course he had always "observ'd; nor propose that he should often repair thither, "but only sometimes, at least once, to shew that he did look "upon them as of the same Religion with him; which the "Church of *England* had always acknowledg'd; and that it "had been an Instruction to the *English* Embassadours, that they "should keep a good correspondence with those of the Reli- "gion, and frequently resort to Divine Service at *Charenton*; "where they had always a Pew kept for them.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer diswaded him from it.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer diswaded his Majesty from going thither with equal earnestness; told him, "That, "whatever countenance or favour, the Crown or Church of "*England* had heretofore shew'd to those Congregations, it "was in a time when they carried themselves with modesty "and duty towards both, and when they professed great duty "to the King, and much reverence to that Church; lament- "ing themselves, that it was not in their power, by the oppo- "sition of the State, to make their Reformation so perfect as "it was in *England*. And by this kind of behaviour they had "indeed receiv'd the Protection and Countenance from *Eng- "land* as if they were of the same Religon, though, it may "be, the Original of that Countenance and Protection pro- "ceeded from another less warrantable foundation; which he "was sure would never find Credit from his Majesty. But, "whatever it was, that People now had undeserv'd it from the "King;

"King; for, assoon as the Troubles begun, the Hugonots of "*France* had generally expressed great Malice to the late King, "and very many of their Preachers and Ministers had pub-"lickly and industriously justified the Rebellion, and pray'd for "the good success of it; and their Synod it self had in such a "manner inveigh'd against the Church of *England*, that they, "upon the matter, professed themselves to be of another Re-"ligion; and inveigh'd against Episcopacy, as if it were in-"consistent with the protestant Religion. That one of their "great Professors at their University of *Saumur*, who was "look'd upon as a Man of the most moderate spirit amongst "their Ministers, had publish'd an Apology for the general "inclination of that Party to the proceedings of the Parlia-"ment of *England*, lest it might give some jealousy to their "own King of their inclination to Rebellion, and of their "opinion that it was lawful for Subjects to take up Arms "against their Prince; which, he said, could not be done in "*France* without manifest Rebellion, and incurring the dis-"pleasure of God for the manifest breach of his Command-"ments; because the King of *France* is an absolute King, in-"dependent upon any other Authority. But that the Consti-"tution of the Kingdom of *England* was of another Nature; "because the King there is subordinate to the Parliament, "which hath Authority to raise Arms for the Reformation "of Religion, or for the executing the publick Justice of the "Kingdom against all those who violate the Laws of the Na-"tion, so that the War might be just There, which in no case "could be warrantable in *France*.

THE Chancellor told the King, "That, after such an in-"dignity offer'd to him, and to his Crown, and since they had "now made such a distinction between the Episcopal and the "Presbyterian Government, that they thought the Professors "were not of the same Religion, his going to *Charenton* could "not be without this effect, that it would be concluded every "where, that his Majesty thought the one or the other Pro-"fession to be indifferent; which would be one of the most "deadly wounds to the Church of *England* that it had yet "ever suffer'd. These reasons prevail'd so far with the King's own natural aversion from what had been proposed, that he declared positively, "He would never go to *Charenton*; which determination eased him from any farther application of that People. The reproach of this resolution was wholly charged upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the implacable Ene-my of all Presbyterians and as the only Man who diverted the King from having a good opinion of them: whereas in truth, the daily information he receiv'd from the King him-self of their barbarous behaviour in *Scotland* towards him, and

The King declar'd he would not go.

of their insupportable pride and pedantry in their Manners, did confirm him in the judgment he had always made of their Profession; and he was the more grievous to those of that Profession, because they could not, as they used to do all those who opposed and crossed them in that manner, accuse him of being Popishly affected, and govern'd by the Papists; to whom they knew he was equally odious; and the Queen's knowing him to be most disaffected to her Religion, made her willing to appear most displeased for his hindring the King from going to *Charenton*.

THERE was another Accident, which fell out at this time, and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer foresaw would exceedingly increase the Queen's prejudice to him; which he did very heartily desire to avoid, and to recover her Majesty's favour by all the ways he could pursue with his duty; and, in consistence with that, did never, in the least degree, dispose his Majesty to deny any thing to her which she own'd the desire of. Lieutenant General *Middleton*, who had been taken Prisoner after *Worcester* Fight, after he was recover'd of his wounds was sent Prisoner to the Tower of *London*; where were likewise many Noble Persons of that Nation, as the Earl of *Crawford*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and many others. But as they of the Parliament had a greater regard for *Middleton* than for any other of that Country, knowing him to be a Man of great honour and courage, and much the best Officer the *Scots* had, so they had a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought they had him at their Mercy, and might proceed against him more warrantably for his life, than against their other Prisoners; because he had heretofore, in the beginning of the War, serv'd them; and though he had quitted their Service at the same time when they cashier'd the Earl of *Essex*, and made their new Model, and was at liberty to do what he thought best for himself, yet they resolv'd to free themselves from any farther apprehensions and fear of him: to that purpose they erected a new High Court of Justice, for the Trial of some Persons who had been troublesome to them, and especially *Middleton* and *Massey*.

THIS last, after he had escaped from *Worcester*, and travelled two or three days, found himself so tormented and weakened by his Wounds, that being near the Seat of the Earl of *Stamford*, whose Lieutenant Colonel he had been in the beginning of the War, and being well known to his Lady, he chose to commit himself to Her, rather than to her Husband; hoping that in honour she would have found some means to preserve him. But the Lady had only charity to cure his Wounds, not courage to conceal his Person; and such Advertisements were given of him, that assoon as he was fit to be

be remov'd, he was likewise sent to the Tower, and destin'd to be sacrificed by the High Court of Justice together with *Middleton*, for the future security of the Common-wealth. *Middleton and Massey, Prisoners in the Tower, design'd to be tried by a High Court of Justice.*

BUT now the Presbyterian interest shew'd it self, and doubtless in enterprises of this Nature was very powerful; having in all places Persons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their Orders, though they did not pretend to be of their Party. And the time Approaching that they were sure *Middleton* was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him so good and particular Advertisement, that he took his leave of his Friends in the Tower, and made his Escape; and having Friends enough to shelter him in *London*, after he had concealed himself there a Fortnight or three Weeks, that the diligence of the first examination and enquiry was over; he was safely Transported into *France*. And within few days after, *Massey* had the same good fortune, to the grief and vexation of the very soul of *Cromwell*; who thirsted for the blood of those two Persons. *Middleton makes his escape into France.* *And Massey escapes.*

WHEN *Middleton* came to the King to *Paris*, he brought with him a little *Scotish* Vicar, who was known to the King, one Mr *Knox*, who brought Letters of credit to his Majesty, and some Proposition from his Friends in *Scotland*, and other Dispatches from the Lords in the Tower, with whom he had conferr'd after *Middleton* had escaped from thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was struck into the hearts of that whole Nation by the severe proceedings of General *Monk*, to whose care *Cromwell* had committed the Reduction of that Kingdom, upon the taking of *Dundee*, where Persons of all Degrees and Qualities were put to the Sword after the Town was enter'd, and all left to plunder; upon which all other places render'd. All Men complain'd of the Marquis of *Argyle*, who prosecuted the King's Friends with the utmost malice, and protected and preserv'd the rest according to his desire. He gave the King assurance from the most considerable Persons, who had retired into the High-lands, "That "they would never swerve from their duty; and that they "would be able, during the Winter, to infest the Enemy by "incursions into their Quarters; and that, if *Middleton* might "be sent to them with some supply of Arms, they would "have an Army ready against the Spring, strong enough to "meet with *Monk*. He said, "He was Addressed from *Scot-*"*land* to the Lords in the Tower, who did not then know "that *Middleton* had arriv'd in safety with the King; and "therefore they had commanded him, if neither *Middleton*, "nor the Lord *Newburgh* were about his Majesty, that then "he should repair to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and desire "him to present him to the King; but that, having found *An account of Scotland brought to the King by a Scotish Vicar that Middleton brought with him.*

"both those Lords there, he had made no farther Applica-
"tion than to them, who had brought him to his Majesty.
The Requests to the King of his Friends there. He told the King, "That both those in *Scotland*, and those in
"the Tower, made it their humble request, or rather a con-
"dition to his Majesty; that, except it were granted, they
"would no more think of serving his Majesty: the condition
"was, that whatever should have relation to his Service in
"*Scotland*, and to their Persons who were to venture their
"lives in it, might not be communicated to the Queen, the
"Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Jermyn*, or the Lord *Wil-*
"*mot*. They professed all duty to the Queen, but they knew
"she had too good an opinion of the Marquis of *Argyle*;
"who would infallibly come to know whatever was known
"to either of the other.

THE King did not expect that any notable Service could be perform'd by his Friends in *Scotland* for his Advantage, or their own Redemption; yet did not think it fit to seem to undervalue the Professions, and Overtures of those who had, during his being amongst them, made all possible demonstration of Affection, and duty to him; and therefore resolv'd to grant any thing they desired; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they proposed to the Queen, or the other three Lords. But since they proposed present Dispatches to be made of Commissions, and Letters, he wished them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that Service. The next day they attended his Majesty again, and desir'd "That all matters relating to *Scot-*
"*land* might be consulted by his Majesty with the Marquis
The King appoints the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make all Dispatches for Scotland. "of *Ormond*, the Lord *Newburgh*, and the Chancellor of the
"Exchequer; and that all the Dispatches might be made by
"the Chancellor; which the King consented to; and bid the Lord *Newburgh* go with them to him, and let him know his Majesty's pleasure. And thereupon the Lord *Newburgh* brought *Middleton* to the Chancellor; who had never seen his face before.

The Marquis of Ormond's and the Chancellor's opinion concerning the King's Affairs at that time. THE Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, believ'd that the King had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and carefully avoid doing any thing that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the Amity of Christian Princes, or some such Revolution of Affairs in *England* by their own Discontents, and Divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his Majesty again to shew himself. And therefore they proposed nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the Queen, that without being receiv'd into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy her

her Grace and good Acceptation. But the designation of them to the *Scotish* Intrigue crossed all this imagination, and shook that foundation of Peace and Tranquillity, upon which they had raised their present hopes.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer dissires the King not to employ him in the Scotish Affairs.

THE Chancellor therefore went presently to the King and besought him with earnestness, "That he would not lay that "Burden upon him, or engage him in any part of the Counsels of that People. He put his Majesty in mind of "The "continued avow'd jealousy, and displeasure, which that whole "Party in that Nation had ever had against him; and that "his Majesty very well knew, that those Noble Persons who "serv'd him best when he was in *Scotland*, and in whose Af"fection and fidelity he had all possible satisfaction, had "some prejudice against him, and would be troubled when "they should hear that all their Secrets were committed to "Him. He told his Majesty, this Trust would for ever de"prive him of all hope of the Queen's Favour; who could "not but discern it within three or four days, and, by the "frequent resort of the *Scotish* Vicar to him (who had the Vanity to desire long conferences with him) "That there was "some Secret in hand which was kept from Her; and she "would as easily discover, that the Chancellor was privy to "it, by his reading Papers to his Majesty, and his Signing "them; and would from thence conclude, that He had per"swaded him to exclude her Majesty from that Turst; which "she would never forgive. Upon the whole, he renew'd his importunity, "That he might be excused from this con"fidence.

The King's reply to him.

THE King heard him with patience and attention enough; and confessed, "That he had reason not to be sollicitous for "that Employment; but he wished him to consider withal, "that he must either undertake it, or that his Majesty must "in plain terms reject the Correspondence; which, he said, "he thought he would not advise him to do. If his Ma"jesty entertain'd it, it could not be imagin'd that all those "Transactions could pass through his own hand, or, if they "could, his being shut up so long alone would make the "same discovery. Whom then should he trust? The Lord "*Newburgh*, it was very true, was a very honest Man, and "worthy of any Trust; but he was not a Councellor, and no"thing could be so much wonder'd at, as his frequent being "shut up with him; and more, his bringing any Papers to "him to be sign'd. As to the general prejudice which he "conceiv'd was against him by that Party, his Majesty told him, "The Nation was much alter'd since he had to do with "them, and that no Men were better lov'd by them now than "They who had from the beginning been faithful to his Fa-

"ther, and Himself. To which he added, that *Middleton* "had the least in him, of any infirmities most incident to "that Party, that he knew; and that he would find him a "Man of great Honour and Ingenuity with whom he would "be well pleased. His Majesty said, "He would frankly declare "to his Mother, that he had receiv'd some Intelligence out "of *Scotland*, and that he was obliged, and had given his "word to those whose Lives would be forfeited if known, "that he would not communicate it with any but those "who were chosen by themselves; and, after this, she could "not be offended with his reservation: And concluded with a gracious Conjuration and Command to the Chancellor, "That he should chearfully submit, and undergo that Em-"ployment; which, he assured him, should never be attended "with prejudice or inconvenience to him. In this manner, he submitted himself to the King's disposal, and was trusted throughout that Affair; which had several Stages in the years following, and did produce the inconveniencies he had foreseen, and render'd him so unacceptable to the Queen, that she easily entertain'd those prejudices against him, which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her, and under which he was compell'd to bear many hardships.

The Chancellor submits; and was accordingly trusted in these Affairs.

THIS uncomfortable Condition of the King was render'd yet more desperate, by the Streights, and Necessities, into which the *French* Court was about this time plunged: So that they who hitherto had shew'd no very good will to assist the King, were now become really unable to do it. The Parliament of *Paris* had behaved themselves so refractorily to all their King's Commands, pressed so importunately for the Liberty of the Princes, and so impatiently for the remove of the Cardinal, that the Cardinal was at last compell'd to perswade the Queen to consent to both: And so himself rid to *Havre de Grace*, and deliver'd the Queen's Warrant to set them at Liberty, and after a short Conference with the Prince of *Condè*, he continued his own Journey towards *Germany*, and passed in disguise, with two or three Servants, till he came near *Cologne*, and there he remain'd at a House belonging to that Elector.

The Troubles of the French *Court about this time.*

WHEN the Princes came to *Paris*, they had receiv'd great welcome from the Parliament, and the City; and instead of closing with the Court, which it was thought they would have done, the Wound was widen'd without any hope of reconciliation: So that the King and Queen Regent, withdrew from thence; the Town was in Arms; and Fire and Sword denounced against the Cardinal; his Goods sold at an Outcry; and a price set upon his Head; and all persons who professed any Duty to their King, found themselves very unsafe in *Paris*.

Paris. During all this time the Queen of *England* and the King, with their Families, remain'd in the *Louvre*, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to ſtay there; the Aſſignments, which had been made for their Subſiſtence, not being paid them: And the looſe People of the Town begun to talk of the Duke of *York*'s being in Arms againſt them. But the Duke of *Orleans*, under whoſe name all the diſorders were committed, and the Prince of *Condè*, viſited our King and Queen with many Profeſſions of Civility; but thoſe were ſhortly abated likewiſe, when the *French* King's Army came upon one ſide of the Town, and the *Spaniſh*, with the Duke of *Lorraine*'s, upon the other. The *French* Army thought they had the Enemy upon an advantage, and deſir'd to have a Battle with them; which the other declin'd; all which time, the Court had an underhand Treaty with the Duke of *Lorraine*; and, upon a day appointed, the *French* King ſent to the King of *England*, to deſire him to confer with the Duke of *Lorraine*; who lay then with his Army within a Mile of the Town. There was no reaſon viſible for that deſire, nor could it be conceiv'd, that his Majeſty's interpoſition could be of moment: yet his Majeſty knew not how to refuſe it, but immediately went to the place aſſign'd; where he found both Armies drawn up in Battalia within Cannon ſhot of each other. Upon his Majeſty's coming to the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Treaty was again reviv'd, and Meſſages ſent between the Duke and Marſhal *Turenne*. In fine, the Night approaching, both Armies drew off from their ground, and his Majeſty return'd to the *Louvre*; and before the next Morning, the Treaty was finiſh'd between the Court and the Duke of *Lorraine*; and he march'd away with his whole Army towards *Flanders*, and left the *Spaniards* to ſupport the Parliament againſt the Power of the *French* Army; which advanced upon them with that Reſolution, that, though they defended themſelves very bravely, and the Prince of *Condè* did the Office of a brave General in the *Fauxburg* S^t *Marceaux*, and at the Port S^t *Antoine*, in which places many gallant Perſons of both ſides were ſlain, they had been all cut off, if the City had not been prevail'd with to ſuffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the King's Army retir'd to their old Poſt, four Leagues off, and attended future advantages: The King having a very great Party in the Parliament and the City, which abhorr'd the receiving and entertaining the *Spaniards* into their bowels.

THIS Retreat of the Duke of *Lorraine*, broke the neck of the Prince of *Condè*'s deſign. He knew well he ſhould not be long able to retain the Duke of *Orleans* from treating with the Court, or keep the *Pariſians* at his Devotion; and

that the Duke *de Beaufort*, whom they had made Governour of *Paris*, would be weary of the Contention. For the present, they were all incenſed againſt the Duke of *Lorraine*; and were well enough contented that the People ſhould believe, that this detection in the Duke was wrought by the activity, and interpoſition of the King of *England*; and they who did know that his Intereſt could not have produced that effect, could not tell how to interpret his Majeſty's Journey to ſpeak with the Duke in ſo unſeaſonable a conjuncture: ſo that, as the People expreſſed, and uſed all the inſolent reproaches againſt the *Engliſh* Court at the *Louvre*, and loudly threaten'd to be reveng'd, ſo neither the Duke of *Orleans*, nor the Prince of *Condè* made any viſit there, or expreſſed the leaſt Civility towards it. In truth, our King and Queen did not think themſelves out of danger, nor ſtirred out of the *Louvre* for many days, until the *French* Court thought themſelves obliged to provide for their Security, by adviſing the King and Queen to remove, and aſſign'd S^t *Germain's* to them for their Retreat. When his Majeſty ſent to the Duke of *Orleans*, and Prince of *Condè*, "That their purpoſe was to "leave the Town: upon which there was a Guard that attended them out of the Town in the evening; which could not be got to be in readineſs till then; and they were ſhortly after met by ſome Troops of Horſe ſent by the *French* King, which conducted them by Torch-light to S^t *Germain's*; where they arriv'd about midnight; and remain'd there without any diſturbance, till *Paris* was reduced to that King's Obedience.

The King of England *and his Mother remove to* S^t Germain's.

It is a very hard thing for People who have nothing to do, to forbear doing ſomething which they ought not to do; and the King might well hope that, ſince he had nothing elſe left to enjoy, he might have enjoy'd quiet and repoſe; and that a Court which had nothing to give, might have been free from Faction and Ambition; whilſt every Man had compoſed himſelf to bear the ill fortune he was reduced to for Conſcience ſake, which every Man pretended to be his caſe, with ſubmiſſion and content, till it ſhould pleaſe God to buoy up the King from the lowneſs he was in; who in truth ſuffer'd much more than any Body elſe. But whilſt there are Courts in the World, Emulation and Ambition will be inſeparable from them; and Kings who have nothing to give, ſhall be preſſed to promiſe; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and miſchievous than any preſent gifts could be, becauſe they always draw on more of the ſame title, and pretence; and as they who receive the Favours, are not the more ſatisfied, ſo they who are not paid in the ſame kind, or who, out of modeſty and diſcretion, forbear to make ſuch Suits,

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are griev'd and offended to see the vanity and presumption of bold Men, so unseasonaly gratified and encouraged.

THE King found no benefit of this kind, in being stripp'd of all his Dominions, and all his Power. Men were as importunate, as hath been said before, for Honours, and Offices, and Revenues, as if they could have taken possession of them assoon as they had been granted, though but by promise: and Men who would not have had the presumption to have ask'd the same thing, if the King had been in *England*, thought it very justifiable to demand it, because he was not there; since there were so many hazards that they should never live to enjoy what he promised. The vexations he underwent of this kind, cannot be expressed; and whosoever succeeded not in his unreasonable desires imputed it only to the ill Nature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and concluded, that He alone obstructed it, because they always receiv'd very gracious Answers from his Majesty: so that though his wants were as visible and notorious as any Man's, and it appear'd he got nothing for himself, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit, and interest he was thought to have with his Master. *Sollicitations for places in the King's Court.*

THE Lord *Wilmot* had, by the opportunity of his late Conversation with the King in his Escape, drawn many kind expressions from his Majesty; and he thought he could not be too sollicitous to procure such a Testimony of his Grace and Favour, as might distinguish him from other Men, and publish the esteem the King had of him. Therefore he importuned his Majesty that he would make him an Earl, referring the time of his Creation to his Majesty's own choice: And the modesty of this reference prevail'd; the King well knowing, that the same Honour would be desir'd on the behalf of another, by one whom he should be unwilling to deny. But since it was not ask'd for the present, he promised to do it in a time that should appear to be convenient for his Service.

THERE were Projects of another kind, which were much more troublesome; in which the Projectors still consider'd themselves in the first place, and what their condition might prove to be by the Success. The Duke of *York* was so well pleased with the fatigue of the War, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his Servants did not like that course of Life so well, at least desir'd so far to improve it, that they might reap some Advantage to themselves out of His appointments. Sr *John Berkley* was now, upon the death of the Lord *Byron*, by which the Duke was depriv'd of a very good Servant, become the superior of his Family, and call'd himself, without any Authority for it, *Intendant des Affaires de* *The Lord Byron, the Duke's Governour, dies.*

de son Alteſſe Royale; had the management of all his Receipts and Disburſments; and all the reſt depended upon him. He deſir'd, by all ways, to get a better Revenue for his Maſter, than the ſmall Penſion he receiv'd from *France*; and thought no expedient ſo proper for him, as a Wife of a great and noble Fortune; which he preſumed he ſhould have the managing of.

THERE was then a Lady in the Town, *Mademoiſelle de Longueville*, the Daughter of the Duke *de Longueville* by his firſt Wife, by whom ſhe was to inherit a very fair Revenue, and had title to a very conſiderable Sum of Money, which her Father was obliged to account for: ſo that ſhe was look'd upon, as one of the greateſt and richeſt Marriages in *France*, in reſpect of her Fortune; in reſpect of her Perſon not at all attractive, being a Lady of a very low Stature, and that ſtature ſomewhat deform'd. This Lady S^r *John* deſign'd for the Duke; and treated with thoſe Ladies who were neareſt to her, and had been truſted with the Education of her, before he mention'd it to his Royal Highneſs. Then he perſwaded him, "That all hopes in *England* were deſperate: That the "Government was ſo ſettled there, that it could never be "ſhaken; ſo that his Highneſs muſt think of no other Fortune "than what he ſhould make by his Sword: That he was now "upon the Stage where he muſt act out his Life, and that he "ſhould do well to think of providing a Civil Fortune for him-"ſelf, as well as a Martial; which could only be by Marriage: and then ſpoke of *Mademoiſelle de Longueville*, and made her Fortune at leaſt equal to what it was; "Which, he ſaid, "when once his Highneſs was poſſeſſed of, he might ſell; and "thereby raiſe Money to pay an Army to Invade *England*, "and ſo might become the Reſtorer of the King his Brother: "this he thought very practicable, if his Highneſs ſeriouſly "and heartily would endeavour it. The Duke himſelf had no averſion from Marriage, and the conſideration of the Fortune, and the circumſtance which might attend it, made it not the leſs acceptable; yet he made no other Anſwer to it, "Than that he muſt firſt know the King's and Queen's judg"ment of it, before he could take any reſolution what to do. Upon which S^r *John* undertook, with his Highneſs's approbation, to propoſe it to their Majeſties himſelf, and accordingly firſt ſpoke with the Queen, enlarging on all the benefit which probably might attend it.

Sir John Berkley *deſigns* Mademoiſelle de Longueville *for the Duke's wife.*

IT was believ'd, that the firſt Overture and Attempt had not been made without her Majeſty's privity, and approbation; for the Lord *Fermyn* had been no leſs active in the contrivance than S^r *John Berkley*: yet her Majeſty refuſed to deliver any opinion in it, till ſhe knew the King's: and ſo a

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laſt, after the young Lady her ſelf had been ſpoken to, his Majeſty was inform'd of it, and his approbation deſir'd; with which he was not well pleaſed; and yet was unwilling to uſe his Authority to obſtruct what was look'd upon as ſo great a benefit and advantage to his Brother; though he did not diſſemble his Reſentment of their Preſumption who undertook to enter upon Treaties of that Nature, with the ſame liberty as if it concern'd only their own Kindred and Allies: However, he was very reſerv'd in ſaying what he thought of it. Whilſt his Majeſty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to diſcover what the Chancellor of the Exchequer's judgment was; and the Lord *Fermyn* ſpoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the King's part, otherwiſe than from the difficulty of bringing it to paſs, in regard the Lady's Friends would not eaſily be induced to give their conſent. But the Chancellor could not be drawn to make any other Anſwer, than "That it was a Subject ſo much "above his comprehenſion, and the conſequences might be "ſuch, that he had not the Ambition to deſire to be conſulted "with upon it; and that leſs than the King's or Queen's Com- "mand ſhould not induce him to enter upon the diſcourſe "of it.

The Queen conſults the Chancellor of the Exchequer about the Marriage.

It was not long before the Queen ſent for him; and ſeeming to complain of the importunity, which was uſed towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, ask'd him, what his opinion of it was? To which he anſwer'd, "That he did not underſtand the convenience of it ſo well, as "to judge whether it were like to be of benefit to the Duke "of *York*: But he thought, that neither the King, nor her "Majeſty, ſhould be willing that the Heir of the Crown "ſhould be Married before the King himſelf; or that it ſhould "be in any Woman's power to ſay, that if there were but "one perſon dead, ſhe ſhould be a Queen: With which her Majeſty, who no doubt did love the King with all poſſible tenderneſs, ſeem'd to be mov'd, as if it had been a conſideration ſhe had not thought of before; and ſaid, with ſome warmth, "That ſhe would never give her conſent that "it ſhould be ſo. However, this Argument was quickly made known to the Duke of *York*, and ſeveral gloſſes made upon it, to the reproach of the Chancellor: yet it made ſuch an impreſſion, that there was then as active endeavours to find a convenient Wife for the King himſelf, and *Mademoiſelle* the Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans*, by his firſt Wife, who, in the Right of her Mother, was already poſſeſſed of the fair inheritance of the Dutchy of *Mompenſier*, was thought of. To this the Queen was much inclined, and the King himſelf not averſe; both looking too much upon the relief it might give

Mademoiſelle likewiſe thought on for the King.

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to his present necessities, and the convenience of having a place to repose in, as long as the storm should continue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had no thought, by the conclusion he had made in the other Overture, to have drawn on this Proposition; and the Marquis of *Ormond* and He were no less troubled with this, than with the former; which made them to be look'd upon as Men of contradiction.

The Marquis of Ormond's and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's exceptions against this.

They represented to the King, "That, as it could admi- "nister only some competency towards his present subsistence, "so it might exceedingly prejudice his future hopes, and alie- "nate the Affections of his Friends in *England*: That the Lady "was elder than He by some years; which was an exception "amongst private Persons; and had been observ'd not to be "prosperous to King's: That his Majesty must expect to be "pressed to those things in point of Religion which he could "never consent to; and yet he should undergo the same dis- "advantage as if he had consented, by many Men's believing "he had done so. They besought him "To set his heart en- "tirely upon the recovery of *England*, and to indulge to no- "thing that might reasonably obstruct that, either by making "him less intent upon it, or by creating new difficulties in "the pursuing it. His Majesty assur'd them "That his heart "was set upon nothing else; and if he had inclination to this "Marriage, it was because he believ'd it might much facili- "tate the other: That he look'd not upon her Fortune, which "was very great, as an Annual support to him, but as a stock "that should be at his disposal; by Sale whereof he might "raise Money enough to raise a good Army to attempt the "recovery of his Kingdoms: and that he would be well as- "sured, that it should be in his power to make that use of it, "before he would be engaged in the Treaty: That he had no "apprehension of the pressures which would be made in mat- "ters of Religion, because, if the Lady did once consent to "the Marriage, she would affect nothing but what might ad- "vance the recovery of his Dominions; which she would "quickly understand any unreasonable Concessions in Reli- "gion could never do. In a word, his Majesty discover'd enough to let them see that he stood well enough inclined to the Overture it self; which gave them trouble, as a thing which, in many respects, was like to prove very inconvenient.

But they were quickly freed from that apprehension. The Lady carried her self in that manner, on the behalf of the Prince of *Condè*, and so offensively to the *French* Court, having given fire her self to the Cannon in the *Bastile* upon the King at the Port St *Antoine*, and done so many blameable things against the *French* King and Queen, that they no sooner heard

heard of this discourse, but they quickly put an end to it; the Cardinal, who was now return'd again, having long resolv'd that our King should never owe any part of his Restitution to any countenance, or assistance, he should receive from *France*; and, from the same conclusion, the like end was put to all Overtures which had concern'd the Duke of *York* and the other Lady. *Both these designs come to nothing.*

THERE was, shortly after, an unexpected Accident, that seem'd to make some alterations in the affairs of *Christendom*; which many very reasonably believ'd, might have prov'd advantageous to the King. The Parliament, assoon as they had settled their Common-wealth, and had no Enemy they fear'd, had sent Embassadours to their Sister Republick, the States of the united Provinces, to invite them to enter into a stricter Alliance with them, and upon the Matter, to be as one Common-wealth, and to have one Interest. They were receiv'd in *Holland* with all imaginable respect, and as great Expressions made, as could be, of an equal desire that a firm Union might be establish'd between the two Common-wealths: and, for the forming thereof, Persons were appointed to treat with the Embassadours; which was look'd upon as a matter that would easily succeed, since the Prince of *Orange*, who could have given powerful obstruction in such Cases, was now dead, and all those who adher'd to him, discountenanced, and remov'd from places of trust and power in all the Provinces, and his Son an Infant, born after the Death of his Father, at the Mercy of the States even for his Support; the two Dowagers, his Mother and Grandmother, having great Joyntures out of the Estate, and the rest being liable to the payment of vast debts. In the Treaty, *Saint-John*, who had the whole trust of the Embassy, being very powerful in the Parliament, and the known confident of *Cromwell*, pressed such a kind of Union as must disunite them from all their other Allies: so that, for the friendship of *England*, they must lose the friendship of other Princes, and yet lose many other Advantages in Trade, which they enjoy'd, and which they saw the younger and more powerful Common-wealth would in a short time deprive them of. This the States could not digest, and used all the ways they could to divert them from insisting upon so unreasonable conditions; and made many large Overtures and Concessions, which had never been granted by them to the greatest Kings, and were willing to quit some Advantages they had enjoyed by all the Treaties with the Crown of *England*, and to yield other considerable benefits which they always before denied to grant. *The Parliament sent Embassadours to Holland to invite them to a strict Union, Saint-John being the chief.*

BUT this would not satisfy, nor would the Embassadours recede from any particular they had propos'd: so that, after some

some Months stay, during which time they receiv'd many Affronts from some *English*, and from others, they return'd with great Presents from the States, but without any effect by the Treaty, or entring into any terms of Alliance, and with the extreme indignation of *Saint-Johns*; which he manifested assoon as he return'd to the Parliament; who disdaining likewise to find themselves undervalued (that is, not valued above all the world besides) presently enter'd upon Counsels how they might discountenance and controle the Trade of *Holland*, and encrease their own.

They return without any Effect.

The Parliament thereupon make the Act of Navigation.

HEREUPON they made that Act that "Inhibits all Foreign Ships from bringing in any Merchandise or Commodities into *England*, but such as were the proceed or growth of their own Country, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all such Ships. This indeed concern'd all other Countries; but it did, upon the matter, totally suppress all Trade with *Holland*, which had very little Merchandise of the growth of their own Country, but had used to bring in their Ships the growth of all other Kingdoms in the world; Wine from *France* and *Spain*, Spices from the Indies, and all Commodities from all other Countries; which they must now do no more. The *Dutch* Embassadour expostulated this matter very warmly, "As a breach of Commerce and Amity, which could "not consist with the Peace between the two Nations; and "that his Masters could not look upon it otherwise than as a "Declaration of War. The Parliament Answer'd him superciliously, "That his Masters might take it in what manner "they pleased; but they knew what was best for their own "State, and would not repeal Laws to gratify their Neighbours; and caused the Act to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

THE United Provinces now discern'd, that they had help'd to raise an Enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the Crown had been. However, they could not believe it possible, that in the Infancy of their Republick, and when their Government was manifestly odious to all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, and the People generally weary of the Taxes and Impositions upon the Nation for the support of their Land-Armies, the Parliament would venture to increase those Taxes and Impositions proportionably to maintain a new War at Sea, at so vast an Expence, as could not be avoided; and therefore believ'd that they only made shew of this Courage to amuse and terrify them. However, at the Spring, They set out a Fleet stronger than of course they used to do; which made no impression upon the *English*; who never suspected that the *Dutch* durst enter into a War with them. Besides that they were confident

dent no such Counsel and Resolution could be taken on a suddain, and without their having first Notice of it, they having several of the States General, and more of the States of *Holland*, very devoted to them. And therefore they increased not their expence, but sent out their usual Fleet for the Guard of the Coast at their Season, and with no other Instructions than they had been accustom'd to.

Orders from the Admiralty in Holland to their Fleet, "Not to "strike to "the English.

THE Council of the Admiralty of *Holland*, which govern'd the Maritime Affairs, without communication with the States General, gave their Instructions to the Admiral *Van Trump*, "That when he met any of the *English* Ships of "War, he should not strik to them, nor shew them any "other respect than what they receiv'd from them; and if "the *English* expostulated the matter, they should answer "frankly, that the respect they had formerly shew'd upon "those Encounters, was because the Ships were the King's, "and for the good intelligence they had with the Crown; but "they had no reason to continue the same in this alteration "of Government, except there were some Stipulation between "them to that purpose: And if this Answer did not satisfy, "but that force was used towards them, they should defend "themselves with their utmost vigour. These Instructions were very secret, and never suspected by the *English* Commanders; who had their old Instructions to oblige all Forreign Vessels to strike sail to them; which had never been refused by any Nation.

IT was about the beginning of *May* in the year 1652, that the *Dutch* Fleet, consisting of above forty Sail, under the Command of *Van Trump*, rode at Anchor in *Dover* Road, being driven by a strong Wind, as they pretended, from the *Flanders* Coast, when the *English* Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, of a much less Number, appear'd in view; upon which the *Dutch* weighed Anchor, and put out to Sea, without striking their Flag; which *Blake* observing, caused three Guns to be fired without any Ball. It was then observ'd, that there was an Express Ketch came, at the very time, from *Holland*, on board their Admiral; and it was then conceiv'd, that he had, by that Express, receiv'd more positive Orders to Fight: For upon the Arrival of that Express, he tacked about, and bore directly towards the *English* Fleet; and the three Guns were no sooner fired, but, in contempt of the Advertisement, he discharged one single Gun from his Poop, and hung out a red Flag; and came up to the *English* Admiral, and gave him a broad side; with which he killed many of his Men, and damaged the Ship. Whereupon, though, *Blake* was surprised, as not expecting such an Assault, he deferr'd not to give him the same rude salutation; and so both

The War begun upon this account with the Dutch.

Fleets

Fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce Encounter; which continued for the space of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loss of much blood on both sides. On the part of the *Dutch*, they lost two Ships, whereof one was sunk, and the other taken, with both the Captains, and near two hundred Prisoners. On the *English* side, there were many slain, and more wounded, but no Ship lost, nor Officer of Name. When the morning appear'd, the *Dutch* were gone to their Coast. And thus the War was enter'd into, before it was suspected in *England*.

WITH what consideration soever the *Dutch* had Embark'd themselves in this suddain Enterprise, it quickly appear'd they had taken very ill measures of the People's Affections. For the News of this conflict was no sooner arriv'd in *Holland*, but there was the most general consternation, amongst all sorts of Men, that can be imagin'd; and the States themselves were so much troubled at it, that, with great expedition, they dispatched two extraordinary Embassadours into *England*; by whom they protested, "That the late unhappy Engagement "between the Fleets of the two Common-wealths, had hap-"pen'd without their knowledge, and contrary to the inten-"tion of the Lords the States General: that they had receiv'd "the fatal tidings of so rash an Attempt, and Action, with "amazement, and astonishment; and that they had immedi-"ately enter'd into consultation, how they might best close "this fresh bleeding Wound, and to avoid the further Effu-"sion of Christian blood, so much desir'd by the Enemies of "both States: and therefore they most earnestly desir'd them, "by their mutual concurrence in Religion, and by their mu-"tual love of Liberty, that nothing might be done with pas-"sion and heat; which would widen the breach; but that "they might speedily receive such an Answer, that there "might be no farther obstruction to the Trade of both Com-"mon-wealths.

The States send two Embassadours into England about it.

To which this Answer was presently return'd to them, "That the civility which they had always shew'd towards the "States of the United Provinces, was so notorious, that no-"thing was more strange than the ill return they had made to "them: that the extraordinary preparations, which they had "made, of a hundred and fifty Ships, without any apparent "necessity, and the Instructions which had been given to "their Sea-Officers, had administer'd too much cause to be-"lieve, that the Lords the States General of the United Pro-"vinces had a purpose to usurp the known Right which the "*English* have to the Seas, and to destroy their Fleets; which, "under the protection of the Almighty, are their Walls and "Bulwarks; so that they might be exposed to the invasion of any

The Parliament's Answer to them.

"any powerful Enemy: therefore they thought themſelves "obliged to endeavour, by God's Aſſiſtance, to ſeek repara- "tion for the injuries and damage they had already receiv'd, "and to prevent the like for the future: However, they "ſhould never be without an intention and deſire, that ſome "effectual means might be found to eſtabliſh a good Peace, "Union, and right Underſtanding, between the two Na- "tions.

WITH this haughty Anſwer they vigorouſly proſecuted their revenge, and commanded *Blake* preſently to Sail to the Northward: it being then the Seaſon of the year for the great Fiſheries of the *Dutch* upon the Coaſts of *Scotland*, and the Iſles of *Orkney* (by the benefit whereof they drive a great part of their Trade over *Europe*) where he now found their multitude of fiſhing Boats, guarded by twelve Ships of War; moſt of which, with the fiſh they had made ready, he brought away with him as good prize.

Blake takes their fiſhing Buſſes; and their Guard-ſhips.

WHEN *Blake* was ſent to the North, Sr *George Ayſcue*, being juſt return'd from the Weſt Indies, was ſent with another part of the Fleet to the South; who, at his very going out, met with thirty Sail of their Merchants between *Dover* and *Calais*; a good part whereof he took, or ſunk; and forced the reſt to run on Shore upon the *French* Coaſt; which is very little better than being taken. From thence he ſtood Weſtward; and near *Plymouth*, with thirty Sail of Men of War, he engaged the whole *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of Sixty Ships of War, and thirty Merchants. It was near four of the Clock in the Afternoon when both Fleets begun to engage, ſo that the Night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the *Holland* Ships of War were ſunk, and moſt of the Men loſt; the *Dutch* in that Action applying themſelves moſt to ſpoil the Tackling, and Sails of the *Engliſh*; in which they had ſo good ſucceſs, that the next Morning they were not able to give them farther chaſe, till their Sails and Rigging could be repaired. But no day paſſed without the taking and bringing in many and valuable *Dutch* Ships into the Ports of *England*; which, having begun their Voyages before any notice given to them of the War, were making haſte home without any fear of their Security: ſo that, there being now no hope of a Peace by the mediation of their Embaſſadours, who could not prevail in any thing they propoſed, they return'd; and the War was proclaim'd on either ſide, as well as proſecuted.

Sr G. Ayſcue takes or ſinks 30 Sail of their Merchants: fights the Dutch Fleet near Plymouth.

THE King thought he might very reaſonably hope to reap ſome benefit and advantage from this War, ſo briskly enter'd upon on both ſides; and when he had ſate ſtill till the return of the *Dutch* Embaſſadours from *London*, and that all Treaties were given over, he believ'd it might contribute to his

ends, if he made a Journey into *Holland*, and made such Propositions upon the place as he might be advised to: but when his Majesty imparted this design to his Friends there, who did really desire to serve him, he was very warmly dissuaded from coming thither; and assured, "That it was so far from "being yet seasonable, that it would more advance a Peace "than any thing else that could be proposed; and would, for "the present, bring the greatest prejudice to his Sister, and to "the affairs of his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, that could "be imagin'd.

The King at Paris proposes to Monsieur Borrel *the* Dutch *Embassador that he would joyn his Interest with theirs.*

The King hereupon took a resolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce the good he desired. The *Dutch* Embassador then resident at *Paris*, Monsieur *Borrel*, who had been Pensioner of *Amsterdam*, was very much devoted to the King's Service, having been formerly Embassador in *England*, and had always dependence upon the Prince of *Orange* successively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who visited him constantly once a Week, and receiv'd Advertisements, and Advices from him, and the Embassador frequently came to His Lodging. The King, upon conference only with the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor, and enjoyning them secrecy, caused a Paper to be drawn up; in which he declared, "That he had very good rea-"son to believe, that there were many Officers and Sea-men "engaged in the Service of the *English* Fleet, who under-"took that Service in hope to find a good opportunity to "serve his Majesty; and that, if the *Dutch* were willing to "receive him, he would immediately put himself on board their "Fleet, without requiring any Command, except of such Ships "only, as, upon their notice of his being there, should re-"pair to him out of the Rebels Fleet: by this means, he pre-sum'd, "He should be able much to weaken their Naval power, "and to raise Divisions in the Kingdom, by which the *Dutch* "would receive benefit and advantage. Having sign'd this Paper, he sent the Chancellor with it open, to shew to the *Dutch* Embassador, and to desire him to send it enclosed in his Letter to the States. The Embassador was very much surprised with it, and made some scruple of sending it, lest he might be suspected to have advised it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his Affection to the King, and for his dependence upon the House of *Orange*. In the end, he desired "The King would enclose it in a Letter to him, and "oblige him to send it to the States General: which was done accordingly; and he sent it by the Post to the States.

The War had already made the Councils of the States less united than they had been, and the Party that was known

to

to be inclined to the Prince of *Orange*, recover'd courage, and joyn'd with thoſe who were no Friends to the War; and, when this Meſſage from the King was read, magnified the King's Spirit in making this Overture, and wiſh'd that an Anſwer of very humble thanks and acknowledgment might be return'd to his Majeſty. They ſaid, "No means ought to "be neglected that might abate the pride and power of the "Enemy: and aſſoon as the People heard of it, they thought it reaſonable to accept the King's Offer. *De Wit*, who was Penſioner of *Holland*, and had the greateſt influence upon their Counſels, had no mind to have any conjunction with the King; which, he foreſaw, muſt neceſſarily introduce the pretences of the Prince of *Orange*; to whom he was an avow'd and declar'd Enemy. He told them, "Indeed it was a very "generous offer of the King; but if they ſhould accept it, "they could never recede from his Intereſt; which, inſtead "of putting an end to the War, of which they were already "weary, would make it without end, and would be the ruin "of their State: that whilſt they were free from being en-"gaged in any Intereſt but their own, they might reaſonably "hope that both ſides would be equally weary of the War, "and then a Peace would eaſily enſue; which they ſhould "otherwiſe put out of their own power; ſo that thanks were return'd to the King for his good will; and they purſued their own method in their Counſels, and were much ſuperior to thoſe who were of another opinion, deſiring nothing ſo much, as to make a Peace upon any conditions.

Thanks return'd to the King by the States, but his propoſal laid aſide.

NOR can it appear very wonderful, that the *Dutch* made ſhew of ſo much flegm in this Affair, when the very choler and pride of the *French* was, about the ſame time, ſo humbled by the Spirit of the *Engliſh*, that though they took their Ships every day, and made them prize, and had now ſeiſed upon their whole Fleet that was going to the relief of *Dunkirk* (that was then cloſely beſieged by the *Spaniard*, and by the taking that Fleet was deliver'd into their hands) yet the *French* would not be provok'd to be angry with them, or to expreſs any inclination to the King; but ſent an Embaſſadour, which they had not before done, to expoſtulate very civilly with the Parliament for having been ſo unneighbourly, but in truth to deſire their Friendſhip upon what terms they pleaſed; the Cardinal fearing nothing ſo much, as that the *Spaniard* would make ſuch a conjunction with the new Common-wealth, as ſhould diſappoint and break all his deſigns.

The Engliſh *ſeiſe on a* French *Fleet going to the relief of* Dunkirk.

The French *ſend an Embaſſadour into* England.

THE inſupportable loſſes which the *Dutch* every day ſuſtain'd by the taking their Merchant's Ships, and their Ships of War, and the total obſtruction of their Trade, broke their hearts, and encreaſed their factions and diviſions at home. All

the Seas were cover'd with the *English* Fleets; which made no distinctions of Seasons, but were as active in the Winter as the Summer; and engaged the *Dutch* upon any inequality of Number. The *Dutch* having been beaten in the Month of *October*, and *Blake* having receiv'd a brush from them in the Month of *December*; in the Month of *February*, the most dangerous season of the Year, They, having appointed a Rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty Merchant Men, sent a Fleet of above one hundred Sail of Men of War to convoy them; and *Blake*, with a Fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very sharp Battle from Noon till the Night parted them: which disposed them to endeavour to preserve themselves by flight; but in the Morning, they found that the *English* had attended them so close, that they were engag'd again to fight, and so unprosperously, that, after the loss of above two thousand Men, who were thrown overboard, besides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their Merchant Men to the *English*, that they might make their flight the more securely.

In February Blake *engages the* Dutch *Fleet; who are beaten.*

THIS last loss made them send again to the Parliament to desire a Peace; who rejected the Overture, as they pretended "For want of formality (for they always pretended a desire of an honourable Peace) the Address being made only by the States of *Holland*, an West-*Friezland*, the States General being at that time not Assembled. It was generally believ'd, that this Address from *Holland* was not only with the Approbation, but by the direction of *Cromwell*; who had rather consented to those particulars, which were naturally like to produce that War, to gratify *Saint-John* (who was inseparable from him in all his other Counsels, and was incensed by the *Dutch*) than approv'd the Resolution. And now he found, by the expence of the Engagements had already passed on both sides, what an insupportable Charge that War must be attended with. Besides, he well discern'd that all Parties, Friends and Foes, Presbyterians, Independents, Levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the War; which, he thought, could proceed from nothing, but that the excess of the expence might make it necessary to disband a great part of the Land Army (of which there appear'd no use) to support the Navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he Authority to place his own Creatures there, all the Officers thereof being nominated and appointed solely by the Parliament: So that when this Address was made by the *Dutch*, he set up his whole rest and interest, that it might be well accepted, and a Treaty thereupon enter'd into; which when he could not bring to pass, he laid to heart; and deferr'd not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the Parlia-

The Dutch *send again to the Parliament for Peace.*

Cromwell *never zealous for this War with the* Dutch, *but govern'd in it by* Saint-John.

Parliament with a witneſs, and by a way they leaſt thought of.

THOUGH *Cromwell* was exerciſed with theſe contradictions and vexations at home, by the Authority of the Parliament, he found not the leaſt oppoſition from abroad. He was more abſolute in the other two Kingdoms, more fear'd, and more obey'd, than any King had ever been; and all the Dominions belonging to the Crown, own'd no other ſubjection than to the Common-wealth of *England*. The Iſles of *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, and *Scilly* were reduced; the former preſently after the Battle of *Worceſter*; and the other, after the King's return to *Paris*; Sr *George Carteret* having well defended *Jerſey* as long as he could, and being ſo overpower'd that he could no longer defend the *Iſland*, he retired into Caſtle *Elizabeth*; which he had fortified, and provided with all things neceſſary for a Siege; preſuming that, by the care and diligence of the Lord *Jermyn*, who was Governour thereof, he ſhould receive Supplies of Men and Proviſion, as he ſhould ſtand in need of them; as he might eaſily have done in ſpight of any power of the Parliament by Sea, or Land. But it had been the principal reaſon that *Cromwell* had hitherto kept the better Quarter with the Cardinal, leſt the bait of thoſe two Iſlands, which the King could have put into his hands when he would, ſhould tempt him to give his Majeſty any Aſſiſtance. But the King was ſo ſtrict and punctual in his care of the Intereſt of *England*, when he ſeem'd to be abandon'd by it, that he choſe rather to ſuffer thoſe places of great importance to fall into *Cromwell*'s power, than to depoſite them, upon any conditions, into *French* hands; which he knew, would never reſtore them to the juſt owner, what obligations ſoever they enter'd into.

Guernſey and Jerſey had been now reduced.

Sr George Carteret defended this as long as he could, and Elizabeth Caſtle.

WHEN that Caſtle had been beſieged three Months, and the Enemy could not approach nearer to plant their Ordnance than, at leaſt, half an *Engliſh* Mile, the Sea encompaſſing it round more than ſo far from any Land, and it not being poſſible for any of their Ships to come within ſuch a diſtance, they brought notwithſtanding Mortar pieces of ſuch an incredible greatneſs, and ſuch as had never been before ſeen in this part of the world, that from the higheſt point of the Hill, near Sr *Hilary*'s, they ſhot Granadoes of a vaſt bigneſs into the Caſtle, and beat down many Houſes; and, at laſt, blow'd up a great Magazine, where moſt of the proviſions of Victuals lay; and kill'd many Men. Upon which Sr *George Carteret* ſent an Expreſs to give the King an Account of the Condition he was in, and to deſire a ſupply of Men and Proviſions; which it being impoſſible for his Majeſty to procure, he ſent him Orders to make the beſt conditions he could; which he ſhortly after did;

The King ſends him Orders to make conditions.

and came himſelf to *Paris*, to give the King a larger information of all that had paſſed in that Affair; and afterwards remain'd in *France* under many mortifications, by the power and proſecution of *Cromwell*, till the King's happy Reſtauration.

The Forreign Plantations alſo were ſubdued.

ALL the Forreign Plantations had ſubmitted to the Yoke; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having Citizens and inferior Perſons put to Govern them inſtead of Gentlemen, who had been entruſted by the King in thoſe places. *New-England* had been too much Allied to all the Conſpiracies and Combinations againſt the Crown, not to be very well pleaſed that Men of their own Principles prevail'd; and ſettled a Government themſelves were delighted with. The *Barbadoes*, which was much the Richeſt Plantation, was principally Inhabited by Men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noiſe and oppreſſions in *England*, and without any ill thoughts towards the King; many of them having ſerv'd him with Fidelity and Courage, during the War; and, that being ended, made that *Iſland* their Refuge from farther proſecutions. But having now gotten good Eſtates there (as it is incredible to what fortunes Men raiſed themſelves in few years, in that Plantation) they were more willing to live in Subjection to that Government at that diſtance, than to return into *England*, and be liable to the Penalties of their former Tranſgreſſions: which upon the Articles of Surrender, they were indemnified for: Nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* (who was upon many accounts, odious to the Parliament, as well as by being Governour there by the King's Commiſſion) and putting an inferior mean Man in his place.

The Barbadoes deliver'd up.

MORE was expected from *Virginia*; which was the moſt Ancient Plantation; and ſo was thought to be better provided to defend it ſelf, and to be better affected. Upon both which ſuppoſitions, and out of confidence in Sr *William Berkley*, the Governour thereof, who had induſtriouſly invited many Gentlemen, and others, thither, as to a place of Security, which he could defend againſt any Attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many Perſons of Condition, and good Officers in the War, had Tranſported themſelves, with all the Eſtates they had been able to preſerve; with which the honeſt Governour, for no man meant better, was ſo confirm'd in his confidence, that he writ to the King almoſt inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilſt the Parliament had nothing elſe to do, that Plantation in a ſhort time was more improv'd in People and Stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the *Indians* to very good Neighbourhood. But, alas!

they

they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been imploy'd in the making the best Advantage of their particular Plantations, without assigning time or Men to provide for the Publick Security in building Forts, or any places of Retreat, that there no sooner appear'd two or three Ships from the Parliament, than all thoughts of Resistance were laid aside. Sr *William Berkley*, the Governour, was suffer'd to remain there as a Private Man, upon his own Plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found any where else. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the Reputation he had with the People, till upon the noise and fame of the King's Restoration, he did as quietly resume the Exercise of his former Commission, and found as ready an Obedience. About this time also, *Scilly*, which had been vigorously defended by Sr *John Greenvil*, till it wanted all things, was deliver'd up to Sr *George Ayscue*. *And Virginia.*

We shall not in this place enlarge upon the Affairs of *Scotland* (which will be part of the Argument of the next Book) where *Monk* for the present Govern'd with a Rod of Iron, and at last found no contradiction, or opposition to his good Will and Pleasure. In *Ireland*, if that People had not been prepar'd and ripe for destruction, there had happen'd an alteration which might have given some respite to it, and disposed the Nation to have united themselves under their new Deputy, whom they had themselves desir'd, under all the solemn obligations of Obedience. Shortly after the departure of the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Cromwell*'s Deputy, *Ireton*, who had married his Daughter, died in *Limrick* of the Plague; which was gotten into his Army, that was so much weaken'd by it, and there were so great Factions and Divisions among the Officers, after his suddain death, that great Advantages might have been gotten by it. His Authority was so absolute, that he was entirely submitted to in all the Civil, as well as Martial Affairs. But his death was thought so little possible, that no provision had been made for that contingency. So that no Man had Authority to take the Command upon him, till *Cromwell*'s Pleasure was farther known; who put the Charge of the Army under *Ludlow*, a Man of a very different Temper from the other; but appointed the Civil Government to run in another Channel, so that there remain'd jealousy and discontent enough still between the Council and the Officers to have shaken a Government that was yet no better establish'd. Ireton *died in* Limrick *of the Plague.* Ludlow *succeeds him in the charge of the Army.*

Ireton, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholick, reserv'd, dark Nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that, for the most *The Character of* Ireton.

moſt part, he reſolv'd alone, but was never diverted from any reſolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obſtinacy to prevail over *Cromwell* himſelf, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his diſſembling leſs; for he was never reſerv'd in the owning and communicating his worſt and moſt barbarous purpoſes; which the other always conceal'd and diſavow'd. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, ſince they had the ſame ends and deſigns. It was generally conceiv'd by thoſe who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that *Ireton* was a Man ſo radically averſe from Monarchy, and ſo fixt to a Republick Government, that, if he had liv'd, he would either, by his Councel and Credit, have prevented thoſe exceſſes in *Cromwell*, or publickly oppoſed and declared againſt them, and carried the greateſt part of the Army with him; and that *Cromwell*, who beſt knew his Nature, and his Temper, had therefore carried him into *Ireland*, and left him there, that he might be without his Counſels or Importunities, when he ſhould find it neceſſary to put off his Mask, and to act that part which he foreſaw it would be requiſite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards Civil Affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that Government, which his heart was ſet upon (being a Scholar, converſant in the Law, and in all thoſe Authors who had expreſſed the greateſt Animoſity and Malice againſt the Regal Government) than for the Conduct of an Army to ſupport it; his Perſonal Courage being never reckon'd among his other Abilities.

The ill condition of the Marquis of Clanrickard's affairs in Ireland.

WHAT Influence ſoever his Life might have had upon the future Tranſactions, certain it is, his Death had none upon the State of *Ireland* to the King's Advantage. The Marquis of *Clanrickard* left no way unattempted that might apply the viſible ſtrength, and power of the *Iriſh* Nation, to the preſervation of themſelves, and to the ſupport of the King's Government. He ſent out his Orders and Warrants for the Levying of new Men, and to draw the old Troops together, and to raiſe Money: but few Men could be got together, and when they were Aſſembled, they could not ſtay together for want of Money to pay them: ſo that he could never get a Body together to march towards the Enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appear'd, that they had made thoſe ample Vows and Proteſtations, that they might be rid of the Marquis of *Ormond*, without any purpoſe of obeying the other. The greateſt part of the Popiſh Clergy, and all the *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*, had no mind to have any relation to the *Engliſh* Nation, and as little

little to return to their Obedience to the Crown. They blamed each other for having deserted the Nuntio, and thought of nothing but how they might get some Forreign Prince to take them into his Protection. They first chose a Committee, *Plunket* and *Brown*, two Lawyers, who had been eminent Conductors of the Rebellion from the beginning, and Men of good Parts, and joyn'd others with them, who were in *France* and *Flanders*. Then they moved the Lord Deputy, to send these Gentlemen into *Flanders* "To invite the Duke of *Lor-raine* to assist them with Arms, Money, and Ammunition, "undertaking to have good Intelligence from thence, that the "Duke (who was known to wish well to the King) was well "prepared to receive their desire, and resolv'd, out of his "Affection to the King, to engage himself cordially in the de-"fence of that Catholick Kingdom, his Zeal to that Religion "being known to be very great. *The Rebels resolve to invite the Duke of Lorraine thither.*

THE Marquis of *Clanrickard* had no opinion of the Expedient, or that the Duke would engage himself on the behalf of a People who had so little Reputation in the World; and therefore refused to give any Commission to those Gentlemen, or to any other to that purpose, without first receiving the King's Order, or at least the advice of the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was known to be safely arriv'd in *France*. But that was look'd upon as delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence, and information of the Duke of *Lorraine*'s being willing to undertake their Relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the Libels, and Scandals, and Declarations, which had been publish'd against the Marquis of *Ormond*, were now renew'd, with equal Malice and Virulence, against the Marquis of *Clanrickard*; and they declared, "That God would "never bless his wither'd hand, which had always concurr'd "with *Ormond*, in the Prosecution, and Persecution of the Ca-"tholicks Confederates from the beginning of their Engage-"ment for the defence of their Religion; and that he had "still had more conversation with Hereticks than with Ca-"tholicks: that he had refused always to submit to the Pope's "Authority; and had treated his Nuntio with less respect "than was due from any good Catholick; and that all the Ca-"tholicks who were cherish'd or countenanced by him, were "of the same Faction. In the end, he could not longer re-sist the importunity of the Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks (which was again brought together) and of the Bishops and Clergy that govern'd the other; but gave his consent to send the same Persons they recommended to him; and gave them his Credentials to the Duke of *Lorraine*; but required them "Punctually to observe his own Instructions,

"and

"and not to presume to depart from them in the least de-
"gree. Their Instructions were, "To give the Marquis of
"*Ormond* notice of their Arrival; and to shew him their In-
"structions; and to conclude nothing without his positive
"Advice; who, he well knew, would communicate all
with the Queen; and that likewise, "When they came into
"*Flanders*, they should advise with such of the King's Coun-
"cil as should be there, and proceed in all things as they
"should direct.

WHAT Instructions soever the Lord Deputy prescribed to them, the Commissioners receiv'd others from the Council and Assembly of their Clergy, which they thought more to the purpose, and resolv'd to follow; by which they were authorised to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the Duke of *Lorraine* to take them into his Protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the Kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in *France*, they gave no notice of their business of their arrival to the Queen, or to the Marquis of *Ormond*; but prosecuted their journey to *Brussels*, and made their Address, with all secrecy, to the Duke of *Lorraine*. There were, at the same time, at *Antwerp*, the Marquis of *New-Castle*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who was newly return'd from his Embassy in *Spain*) and Secretary *Nicholas*; all three had been of the King's Council; to neither of whom they so much as gave a visit. And though the Duke of *York*, during this time, passed through *Brussels*, in his journey to *Paris*; they imparted not their Negotiations to his Highness.

Commissioners sent to him to Brussels.

THE Duke of *Lorraine* had a very good mind to get footing in *Ireland*; where, he was sure, there wanted no Men to make Armies enough, which he thought were not like to want Courage to defend their Country and Religion. And the Commissioners very frankly offer'd "To deliver up *Gal-*
"*loway*, and all the places which were in their possession, into
"his hands, with the remainder of the Kingdom, assoon as it
"could be reduced; and to obey him absolutely as their
"Prince. But he, as a reserve to decline the whole, if it ap-
pear'd to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then appre-
hended, discover'd much of his Affection to the King, and
his resolution "Not to accept any thing that was proposed,
"without his Majesty's privity and full approbation. But in the
mean time, and till that might be procured, he was content
to send the Abbot of St *Catharine's*, a *Lorrainer*, and a Person
principally trusted by him, as his Embassadour into *Ireland*,
to be inform'd of the true State of that Kingdom, and what
real strength the Confederate Catholicks were possessed of
and at what Unity among themselves. With him he sen
abou

The Duke sends an Abbot into Ireland *to be inform'd of the State of it.*

about three or four thousand Pistoles, to supply their present Necessities, and some Arms and Ammunition. The Duke writ to the Lord Deputy the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, as the King's Governour, and the Person by whose Authority all those Propositions had been made to him by the Commissioners.

THE Abbot upon his Arrival (though he was civilly receiv'd) quickly found, that the Marquis knew nothing of what the Commissioners had proposed or offer'd; and would by no means so much as enter upon any Treaty with him; but disavow'd all that they had said or done, with much vehemence, and with a Protestation, "That he would cause their heads to "be cut off, if they return'd or came into his hands. And the Marquis did, at the same time, write very large Letters both to the King, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, of their presumption and wickedness; and very earnestly desired, "That "they might be imprison'd, and kept till they might undergo "a just Tryal.

The Marquis renounces any consent to the Treaty.

As the Marquis expressed all possible indignation, so many of the Catholick Nobility, and even some of their Clergy, who never intended to withdraw their Loyalty from the Crown of *England*, how weakly soever they had manifested it, indeed all the *Irish* Nation, but those of *Ulster*, who were of the old Septs, were wonderfully scandalized to find that all their strength was to be deliver'd presently up into the possession of a Forreign Prince; upon whose good nature only, it must be presumed that he would hereafter restore it to the King. It was now time for the Popish Bishops, and their Confederates, to make good what had been offer'd by the Commissioners with their Authority; which though they thought not fit to own, they used all their endeavours now in procuring to have it consented to, and ratified. They very importunately advised, and pressed the Lord Deputy, "To confirm what had "been offer'd, as the only visible Means to preserve the Na"tion, and a Root out of which the King's Right might again "spring and grow up: and when they found, that he was so far from yielding to what they desired, that, if he had power, he would proceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that he would no more give Audience to the Embassadour, and remov'd from the place where they were to his own House and Castle at *Portumny*, to be secure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced own'd all that the Commissioners had propounded, "As done by their "Order, who could make it good; and desired the Embassadour "To enter into a Treaty with them; and declar'd "That "they would sign such Articles, with which the Duke of *Lor*"*raine* should be well satisfied. They undervalued the power of the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, as not able to oppose any agreement

ment they ſhould make, nor able to make good any thing he ſhould promiſe himſelf, without their Aſſiſtance.

THE Embaſſadour was a wiſe Man, and of flegm enough; and though he heard all they would ſay, and receiv'd any Propoſitions they would give him in writting, yet he quickly diſcern'd, that they were ſo unskilful as to the managery of any great deſign, and ſo disjoynted among themſelves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpoſe; and excuſed himſelf from entring upon any new Treaty with them, as having no Commiſſion to treat but with the Lord Deputy. But he told them, "He would deliver all that they had, or "would propoſe to him, to the Duke his Maſter; who, he "preſumed, would ſpeedily return his Anſwer, and proceed "with their Commiſſioners in ſuch a manner as would be "grateful to them. So he return'd in the ſame Ship that brought him, and gave the Duke ſuch an Account of his Voyage, and that People, that put an end to that Negotiation; which had been enter'd into, and proſecuted, with leſs wariness, circumſpection, and good husbandry, than that Prince was accuſtom'd to uſe.

The Abbot returns to the Duke; whereupon the Duke gives over the Negotiation.

WHEN the Embaſſadour was gone, they proſecuted the Deputy, with all Reproaches of betraying and ruining his Country; and had ſeveral deſigns upon his Perſon, and communicated whatever Attempt was reſolv'd to the Enemy: yet there were many of the Nobility and Gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his Perſon from any Violence they intended againſt him, but could not ſecure him, againſt their Acts of Treachery, nor keep his Councels from being betray'd. After the Defeat of *Worceſter* was known and publiſh'd, they leſs conſider'd all they did; and every one thought he was to provide for his own ſecurity that way that ſeem'd moſt probable to him; and whoſoever was moſt intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the Deputy, and loudly urged "The "neceſſity of uniting themſelves for the publick ſafety, which "was deſperate any other way: whilſt in truth every Man was negotiating for his own indemnity with *Ludlow* (who commanded the *Engliſh*) or for leave to tranſport Regiments; which kept the Soliders together, as if they had been the Deputy's Army.

The Lord Clanrickard diſcovers a Correſpondence managed by a Fryar between the Popiſh Iriſh Clergy and Ludlow.

THE Deputy had a ſuſpicion of a Fellow, who was obſerv'd every day to go out, and return'd not till the next; and appointed an Officer of truſt, with ſome Horſe, to watch him, and ſearch him; which they did; and found about him a Letter which contain'd many Reproaches againſt the Marquis, and the Intelligence of many particulars; which the Meſſenger was carrying to *Ludlow*. It was quickly diſcover'd that

that the Letter was written by one Father *Cohogan*, a Franciscan Fryar in *Galloway*; where the Deputy then was; but much of the Intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The Deputy caused the Fryar to be imprison'd and resolv'd to proceed exemplarily against him, after he had first discover'd his Complices. The Fryar confessed the Letter to be of his writing, but refused to Answer to any other Questions; and demanded his Privilege of a Church-Man, and not to be tried by the Deputy's Order. The Conclusion was, the Popish Bishops caused him to be taken out of the Prison; and sent to the Deputy, "That if he would send "to them his Evidence against the Fryar, who was an Eccle-"siastical Person, they would take care that justice should be "done.

THIS Proceeding convinced the Deputy, that he should not be able to do the King any Service in that Company; nor durst he stay longer in that Town, lest they should make their own Peace by delivering up him and the Town together; which they would have made no scruple to have done. From that time he remov'd from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the same place together, lest he should be betray'd; and sometimes without any Accommodations: so that, not having been accustom'd to those hardships, he contracted those diseases which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he receiv'd Commands from the King. For assoon as he had Advertisement of the King's Arrival at *Paris*, and it was very evident by the behaviour of the *Irish*, that they would be no more applied to the King's Service under his Command, than under the Marquis of *Ormond's*, he sent the Earl of *Castle-haven* (who had been formerly a General of the Confederate Catholicks, and remain'd with great constancy with the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, as long as there was any hope) to the King, with so particular an account, under his own hand of all that had passed, from the time that he had receiv'd his Commission from the Marquis of *Ormond*, that it even contain'd almost a Diary, in which he made so lively a description of the proceedings of the *Irish*, of their Overtures to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and of their several tergiversations and treacheries towards him, that any Man might discern, especially they who knew the generosity of the Marquis, his Nature, and his custom of Living, that he had submitted to a life very uncomfortable and melancholick; and desired his Majesty's leave that he might retire, and procure a Pass to go into *England*; where he had some Estate of his own, and many Friends, who would not suffer him to starve; which his Majesty made haste to send to him, with as great

He sends the Earl of Castle-haven to give an account of all to the King.

The King sends him leave to retire.

great Teſtimony of his gracious Acceptation of his Service, and Affection, as his ſingular merit deſerved.

The Marquis gets a Paſs from Ludlow, and goes into England, and dies within a year.

THEREUPON the Marquis ſent to *Ludlow* for a Paſs to go into *England*, and render himſelf to the Parliament; which he preſently ſent him; and ſo the Marquis Tranſported himſelf to *London*; where he was civilly treated by all Men, as a Man who had many Friends, and could have no Enemies but thoſe who could not be Friends to any. But by the Infirmities he had contracted in *Ireland*, by thoſe ſevere fatigues and diſtreſſes he had been expoſed to, he liv'd not to the end of a year; and had reſolv'd, upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have Tranſported himſelf to the King, and attended his Fortune. He left behind him ſo full a Relation of all material paſſages, as well from the beginning of that Rebellion, as during the time of his own Adminiſtration, that I have been the leſs particular in the Accounts of what paſſed in the Tranſactions of that Kingdom, preſuming that more exact work of His, will, in due time, be communicated to the World.

THE Affairs of the three Nations being in this poſture at the end of the year 1652, and there being new Accidents, and Alterations of a very extraordinary Nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of Succeſs, though not with that benefit to the King as might have been expected naturally from thoſe Emotions, We ſhall here conclude this Book, and reſerve the other for the next.

THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XIV.

Job XX. 19, 22.

Becauſe he hath oppreſſed and hath forſaken the Poor; becauſe he hath violently taken away an Houſe which he built not:

In the fulneſs of his ſufficiency he ſhall be in ſtreights; every hand of the wicked ſhall come upon him.

Job XXVII. 15.

Thoſe that remain of him ſhall be buried in death, and his Widows ſhall not weep.

HAD not God reſerv'd the Deliverance and Reſtoration of the King to Himſelf, and reſolv'd to accompliſh it when there appear'd leaſt hope of it, and leaſt Wordly means to bring it to paſs; there happen'd at this time another very great Alteration in *England*, that, together with the continuance of the War with *Holland*, and Affronts every day offer'd to *France*, might very reaſonably have adminiſter'd great hopes to the King of a ſpeedy change of Government there. From the time of the defeat at *Worceſter*, and the reduction of *Scotland* and *Ireland* to perfect Obedience, *Cromwell* did not find the Parliament ſo ſupple to obſerve his Orders, as he expected they would have been. The Presbyterian Party, which he had diſcountenanced all he could, and made his Army of the Independent Party, were bold in contradicting him in the Houſe, and croſſing all his deſigns in the City, and exceedingly inveigh'd againſt the Licence that was practiced in Religion, by the ſeveral Factions of Independents, Anabaptiſts, and

and the several Species of these; who contemn'd all Magistrates, and the Laws establish'd. All these, how contradictory soever to one another, *Cromwell* cherished and protected, that he might not be overrun by the Presbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make use: yet he seem'd to shew much respect to some principal Preachers of that Party; and consulted much with them, how the distempers in Religion might be composed.

THOUGH he had been forward enough to enter upon the War of *Holland*, that so there might be no Proposition made for the Disbanding any part of his Army, which otherwise could not be prevented, yet he found the expence of it was so great, that the Nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of Land forces; which how apparent soever, he saw the Parliament so fierce for the carrying on that War, that they would not hearken to any reasonable Conditions of Peace; which the *Dutch* appear'd most sollicitous to make upon any terms. But that which troubled him most, was the jealousy that his own Party of Independents, and other Sectaries had contracted against him: That Party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved *Vane*, thought his Power and Authority to be too great for a Common-wealth, and that He and his Army, had not dependence enough upon, or submission to the Parliament. So that he found those who had exalted him, now most sollicitous to bring Him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his Power and Authority must quickly be attended with. He observ'd, that those his old Friends very frankly united themselves with His and Their old Enemies, the Presbyterians, for the prosecution of the War with *Holland*, and obstructing all the Overtures towards Peace; which must in a short time, exhaust the Stock, and consequently disturb any settlement in the Kingdom.

Cromwell erects another Council of Officers; who expostulate with the Parliament about their Arrears, and their own Dissolution.

IN this perplexity he resorts to his old remedy, his Army; and again erects another Council of Officers, who, under the Style, first, of Petitions, and then of Remonstrances, interposed in whatsoever had any relation to the Army; used great importunity for "The Arrears of their pay; that they "might not be compell'd to take free Quarter upon their fel- "low Subjects, who already paid so great Contributions and "Taxes; which they were well assured, if well managed, "would abundantly defray all the Charges of the War, and "of the Government. The sharp Answers the Parliament gave to their Addresses, and the reprehensions for their presumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the Army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of some former

former professions they had made, "That they would be glad "to be eased of the Burden of their Employment; and that "there might be successive Parliaments to undergo the same "trouble They had done. They therefore desired them, "That "they would remember how many years they had sate; and "though they had done great things, yet it was a great injury "to the rest of the Nation, to be utterly excluded from bear- "ing any part in the Service of their Country, by their in- "grossing the whole power into Their hands; and thereupon "besought them, that they would settle a Council for the ad- "ministration of the Government during the Interval, and "then dissolve themselves, and Summon a new Parliament; "which, they told them, "Would be the most popular Action "they could perform.

THESE Addresses in the Name of the Army, being confidently deliver'd by some Officers of it, and as confidently seconded by others who were Members of the House, it was thought necessary, that they should receive a solemn Debate, to the end that when the Parliament had declared its resolution and determination, all Persons might be obliged to acquiesce therein, and so there would be an end put to all Addresses of that kind. *The Parliament debate about the period of their sitting.*

THERE were many Members of the House, who either from the justice and reason of the Request, or seasonably to comply with the sense of the Army, to which they foresaw they should be at last compelled to submit, seem'd to think it necessary, for abating the great Envy, which was confessedly against the Parliament throughout the Kingdom, that they should be dissolv'd, to the end that People might make a new Election of such Persons as they thought fit to trust with their Liberty and Property, and whatsoever was dearest to them. But Mr *Martyn* told them, "That he thought they might find "the best Advice from the Scripture, what they were to do "in this particular, that when *Moses* was found upon the "River, and brought to *Pharoah*'s Daughter, she took care that "the Mother might be found out, to whose care he might be "committed to be nursed; which succeeded very happily. He said, "Their Common-wealth was yet an Infant, of a weak "growth, and a very tender constitution; and therefore his "opinion was, that no body could be so fit to nurse it, as the "Mother who brought it forth; and that they should not "think of putting it under any other hands, until it had ob- "tained more years and vigour. To which he added, "That "they had another Infant too under their hands, the War with "*Holland*, which had thrived wonderfully under their Conduct; "but he much doubted that it would be quickly strangled, if it "were taken out of their care, who had hitherto govern'd it. Harry Martyn's *Application of the story of Moses to this purpose.*

The Parliament determin'd, that they would not yet think of Dissolving.

THESE Reasons prevailed so far, that, whatsoever was said to the contrary, it was determin'd, that the Parliament would not yet think of Dissolving, nor would take it well, that any Persons should take the presumption any more to make Overtures to them of that Nature, which was not fit for private and particular Persons to meddle with: and to put a Seasonable stop to any farther presumption of that kind, they appointed a Committee "Speedily to prepare an Act of "Parliament for the filling up of their House; and by which, "it should be declared to be High Treason, for any Man to "propose, or contrive the changing of the present Govern-"ment settled, and established.

THIS Bill being prepared by the Committee, they resolv'd to pass it with all possible expedition. So *Cromwell* clearly discern'd, that by this means they would never be perswaded to part with that Authority and Power, which was so profitable, and so pleasant to them: yet the Army declared they were not satisfied with the Determination, and continued their Applications to the same purpose, or to others as unagreeable to the sense of the House; and did all they could to infuse the same Spirit into all the parts of the Kingdom, to make the Parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and *Cromwell* was well pleased that the Parliament should express as much prejudice against the Army.

ALL things being thus prepared, "*Cromwell* thought this a good season to expose these Enemies of Peace to the indignation of the Nation; which, he knew, was generally weary of the War, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they should be eased of the greatest part of their Contributions, and other Impositions: thereupon, having adjusted all things with the Chief Officers of the Army, who were at his Devotion, in the month of *April*, that was in the year 1653, he came into the House of Parliament in a Morning when it was sitting, attended with the Officers who were likewise Members of the House, and told them "That he came thither to put an "end to their Power and Authority; which they had ma-"naged so ill, that the Nation could be no otherwise preserv'd "than by their Dissolution; which he advised them, without "farther Debate, quietly to submit unto.

Cromwell and his Officers dissolve the Parliament.

THEREUPON another Officer, with some Files of Musqueteers, enter'd into the House, and stay'd there till all the Members walk'd out; *Cromwell* reproaching many of the Members by Name, as they went out of the House, with their Vices and Corruptions, and amongst the rest, Sr *Harry Vane* with his breach of Faith and Corruption; and having given the Mace to an Officer to be safely kept, he caused the Doors to be lock'd up; and so dissolv'd that Assembly, which had

had ſate almoſt thirteen years, and under whoſe Name he had wrought ſo much miſchief, and reduced three Kingdoms to his own entire obedience and ſubjection, without any example or Precedent in the Chriſtian World that could raiſe his Ambition to ſuch a preſumptuous Undertaking, and without any rational dependence upon the friendſhip of one Man who had any other Intereſt to advance his deſigns, but what he had given him by preferring him in the War.

WHEN He had thus proſperouſly paſſed this *Rubicon*, he loſt no time in publiſhing a Declaration of the grounds and reaſons of his Proceeding, for the ſatisfaction of the People: in which he put them in mind, how miraculouſly God had "Appear'd for them in reducing *Ireland* and *Scotland* to ſo "great a degree of *Peace*, and *England* to a perfect quiet, "whereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the Peo- "ple the harveſt of all their Labour, Blood, and Treaſure, and "to ſettle a due Liberty in reference to Civil and Spiritual "things, whereunto they were obliged by their Duty, and "thoſe great and wonderful things God had wrought for "them. But that they had made ſo little progreſs towards this "good end, that it was matter of much grief to the good Peo- "ple of the Land, who had thereupon apply'd themſelves to "the Army, expecting Redreſs by their means; who, being "very unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority, thought "fit that ſome Officers, who were Members of the Parlia- "ment, ſhould move, and deſire the Parliament to proceed "vigorouſly in reforming what was amiſs in the Common- "wealth; and in ſettling it upon a Foundation of Juſtice and "Righteouſneſs: that they found this, and ſome other Endea- "vours they had uſed, produced no good effect, but rather "an averſeneſs to the things themſelves, with much bitterneſs "and averſion to the People of God, and his Spirit acting in "them: inſomuch as the Godly Party in the Army was now "become of no other Uſe, than to countenance the ends of a "corrupt Party, that deſired to perpetuate themſelves in the "ſupreme Government of the Nation: that, for the obviat- "ing thoſe Evils, the Officers of the Army had obtain'd ſe- "veral meetings with ſome Members of the Parliament, to "conſider what remedies might properly be apply'd; but that "it appear'd very evident unto them, that the Parliament, by "want of Attendance of many of their Members, and want "of Integrity in others who did attend, would never anſwer "thoſe ends, which God, his People, and the whole Nation, "expected from them; but that this Cauſe, which God had "ſo greatly bleſſed, muſt needs languiſh under their hands; "and by degrees be loſt, and the Lives, Liberties, and Com- "forts of his People, be deliver'd into their Enemies hands.

"All which being ſeriouſly and ſadly conſider'd by the honeſt "People of the Nation, as well as by the Army, it ſeem'd a "Duty incumbent upon them, who had ſeen ſo much of the "power and preſence of God, to conſider of ſome effectual "means, whereby to eſtabliſh Righteouſneſs and Peace in "theſe Nations: that, after much Debate, it had been judg- "ed neceſſary, that the ſupreme Government ſhould be, by "the Parliament, devolv'd for a time upon known Perſons, "fearing God, and of approv'd Integrity, as the moſt hope- "ful way to countenance all God's People, preſerve the Law, "and adminiſter Juſtice impartially; hoping thereby, that Peo- "ple might forget Monarchy, and underſtand their true In- "tereſt in the election of ſucceſſive Parliaments, and ſo the "Government might be ſettled upon a right baſis, without "hazard to this glorious Cauſe, or neceſſity to keep up Ar- "mies for the defence thereof: that being reſolv'd, if poſſi- "ble, to decline all extraordinary Courſes, they had prevailed "with about twenty Members of the Parliament to give them "a conference; with whom they debated the juſtice and ne- "ceſſity of that Propoſition; but found them of ſo contrary "an opinion, that they inſiſted upon the continuance of the "preſent Parliament, as it was then conſtituted, as the only "way to bring thoſe good things to paſs which they ſeem'd "to deſire: that they inſiſted upon this with ſo much vehe- "mence, and were ſo much tranſported with paſſion, that "they cauſed a Bill to be prepared for the perpetuating this "Parliament, and inveſting the ſupreme power in themſelves. "And for the preventing the conſummation of this Act, and "all the ſad and evil conſequences, which, upon the grounds "thereof, muſt have enſued, and whereby, at one blow, the "Intereſt of all honeſt Men, and of this glorious Cauſe, had "been in danger to be laid in the duſt, they had been neceſſi- "tated (though with much repugnance) to put an end to the "Parliament.

THERE needs not be any other deſcription of the temper of the Nation at that time, than the remembring that the diſſolution of that Body of Men who had reign'd ſo long over the three Nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable to the People, how unuſual ſoever the circumſtances thereof had been; and that this Declaration, which was not only, ſubſcribed by *Cromwell*, and his Council of Officers, but was own'd by the Admirals at Sea, and all the Captains of Ships, and by the Commanders of all the Land Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, was look'd upon as very reaſonable; and the Declaration, that iſſued thereupon, by which the People were required to live peaceably, and quietly to ſubmit themſelves to the Government of the Council of State, which ſhould

ſhould be nominated by the General, until ſuch a time as a Parliament, conſiſting of Perſons of approv'd fidelity and honeſty, could meet, and take upon them the Government of thoſe Nations, found an equal ſubmiſſion, and obedience.

THE Method he purſued afterwards, for the compoſing a Government, by firſt putting it into a moſt ridiculous Confuſion, and by deveſting himſelf of all pretences to Authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of Men ſo well choſen, that they ſhould ſhortly after delegate the power in form of Law to him for the preſervation of the Nation, was not leſs admirable; and puts me in mind of what *Seneca* ſaid of *Pompey*, "That he had brought the People of "*Rome* to that paſs, by magnifying their power and authority, *ut ſalvus eſſe non poſſit niſi beneficio ſervitutis.* And if *Cromwell* had not now made himſelf a Tyrant, all Bonds being broken, and the univerſal Guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the King's obedience, they muſt have periſh'd together in ſuch a confuſion, as would rather have expoſed them as a Prey to Forreigners, than diſpoſed them to the only reaſonable way for their preſervation; there being no Man that durſt mention the King, or the old form of Government.

IT was upon the twentieth of *April* that the Parliament had been diſſolv'd; and though *Cromwell* found that the People were ſatisfied in it, and the Declaration publiſh'd thereupon, yet he knew, it would be neceſſary to provide ſome other viſible power to ſettle the Government, than the Council of Officers; all whom he was not ſure he ſhould be able long entirely to govern, many of them having clear other Notions of a Republick than he was willing *England* ſhould be brought to. A Parliament was ſtill a name of more veneration than any other aſſembly of Men was like to be, and the contempt the laſt was fallen into, was like to teach the next to behave it ſelf with more diſcretion. However the Ice was broken for diſſolving them, when they ſhould do otherwiſe; yet he was not ſo well ſatisfied in the general temper, as to truſt the Election of them to the humour and inclination of the People.

Cromwell and his Officers chooſe a Parliament.

HE reſolv'd therefore to chooſe them himſelf, that he might with the more Juſtice unmake them when he ſhould think fit; and with the Advice of his Council of Officers for he made yet no other Council of State, he made choice of a number of Men conſiſting of above one hundred Perſons, who ſhould meet as a Parliament to ſettle the Government of the Nation. It can hardly be believ'd that ſo wild a Notion ſhould fall into any Man's imagination, that ſuch a People ſhould be fit to contribute towards any ſettlement, or that from their Actions any thing could reſult, that might advance his particular deſign. Yet upon the view and conſi-

deration of the Persons made choice of, many did conclude, "That he had made his own scheme entirely to himself; and "though he communicated it with no Man that was known, "concluded it the most natural way to ripen, and produce "the Effects, it did afterwards, to the end he proposed to "himself.

Conditions and Qualities of the Persons nominated.

THERE were amongst them divers of the Quality and Degree of Gentlemen, and who had Estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the Major part of them consisted of inferior Persons, of no Quality, or Name, Artificers of the meanest Trades, known only by their gifts in Praying and Preaching; which was now practised by all degrees of Men, but Scholars, throughout the Kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that Parliament it self was afterwards denominated, who was *Praise-God* (that was his Christian Name) *Barebone*, a Leather-seller in *Fleet-street*, from whom (he being an eminent Speaker in it) it was afterwards call'd *Praise God Barebone's* Parliament. In a word they were generally a pack of weak senseless Fellows, fit only to bring the Name, and Reputation of Parliaments lower than it was yet.

From one of the Members this was nick named Praise-God Barebone's *Parliament.*

Cromwell calls them together by his own Warrant to meet July 4.

IT was fit these new Men should be brought together by some new way: and a very new way it was; for *Cromwell* by his Warrants, directed to every one of them, telling them "Of the necessity of dissolving the late Parliament, and of an "equal necessity, that the Peace, Safety, and good Govern- "ment of the Common-wealth should be provided for, and "therefore that he had, by the Advice of his Council of Of- "ficers, nominated divers Persons fearing God, and of ap- "prov'd fidelity and honesty, to whom the great Charge and "Trust of so weighty Affairs was to be committed, and that "having good assurance of their love to, and courage for God, "and the Interest of his Cause, and the good People of this "Common-wealth; he concluded in these words, "I *Oliver* "*Cromwell*, Captain General and Commander in Chief of all "the Forces raised, or to be raised within this Common- "wealth, do hereby summon and require you personally to "be, and appear at the Council Chamber at *White-Hall*, upon "the fourth day of *July* next, then and there to take upon "You the said Trust. And you are hereby call'd, and ap- "pointed to serve as as a Member of the County of, *&c.* Upon this wild Summons, the Persons so nominated appear'd at the Council Chamber upon the fourth of *July*, which was near three Months after the Dissolution of the former Parliament.

CROMWELL with his Council of Officers was ready to receive them, and made them a long discourse of "The fear "of God, and the Honour due to his Name, full of Texts of "Scripture; and remember'd "The wonderful Mercies of God "to this Nation, and the continued Series of Providence, "by which he had appear'd in carrying on his Cause, and "bringing Affairs into that present glorious Condition, where-"in they now were. He put them in mind of "The noble "Actions of the Army in the famous Victory of *Worcester*, of "the Applications they had made to the Parliament, for a "good settlement of all the Affairs of the Common-wealth, "the neglect whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve "it. He assured them by many Arguments, some of which were urged out of Scripture, "That they had a very lawful "Call to take upon them the supreme Authority of the Na-"tion, and concluded with a very earnest desire, "That great "tenderness might be used towards all Conscientious Persons, "of what judgment soever they appear'd to be. *Cromwell speaks to them, and delivers them an Instrument for their Authority.*

WHEN he had finish'd his Discourse, he deliver'd to them an Instrument engrossed in Parchment under his Hand and Seal, whereby, with the advice of his Council of Officers, he did devolve, and intrust the supreme Authority of this Common-wealth into the hands of those Persons therein mention'd; and declar'd, "That they, or any forty of them were "to be held and acknowledged the supreme Authority of the "Nation, to which all Persons within the same, and the Ter-"ritories thereunto belonging, were to yield Obedience and "Subjection to the Third day of the Month of *November*, "which should be in the year 1654, which was about a year and three Months from the time that he spoke to them; and three Months before the time prescrib'd should expire, they were to make choice of other Persons to succeed them, whose Power and Authority should not exceed one year, and then they were likewise to provide, and take care for a like Succession in the Government. Being thus invested with this Authority, they repair'd to the Parliament House, and made choice of one *Rouse* to be their Speaker, an old Gentleman of *Devon-shire*, who had been a Member of the former Parliament, and in that time been preferr'd and made Provost of the College of *Eaton*, which Office he then enjoy'd, with an opinion of having some knowledge in the Latin and Greek Tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but throughly engaged in the Guilt of the Times. *They repair to the Parliament House, and choose Rouse their Speaker.*

AT their first coming together, some of them had the Modesty to doubt, that they were not in many respects so well qualified as to take upon them the Style and Title of a Parliament. But that Modesty was quickly subdued, and they

They assume the Name of a Parliament:

were easily perswaded to assume that Title, and to consider themselves as the supreme Authority in the Nation. These Men thus brought together continued in this Capacity near six Months to the amazement, and even mirth of the People. In which time they never enter'd into any grave and serious Debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the Clergy, and against all Learning, out of which they thought the Clergy had grown, and still would grow.

Their Actings and Consultations.

THERE were now no Bishops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that Order to the lowest distress. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves Ministers, and who, by being called so, receiv'd Tythes, and respect from their Neighbours. They look'd upon the Function it self to be Anti-Christian, and the Persons to be burthensome to the People, and the requiring, and payment of Tythes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit that they should be abolish'd altogether; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of People who might revive those pretences, they proposed "That all Lands belonging to "the Universities, and Colleges in those Universities, might "be sold, and the Monies that should arise thereby, be dis- "posed for the Publick Service, and to ease the People from "the Payment of Taxes and Contributions.

WHEN they had tired and perplexed themselves so long in such Debates, assoon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of *December*, and before many of them were come who were like to dissent from the Motion, one of them stood up and declar'd, "That he did believe, they were not equal "to the Burthen that was laid upon them, and therefore that "they might dissolve themselves, and deliver back their Au- "thority into Their Hands from whom they had receiv'd it;

On the 12th of Decemb. they delivered up their power to Cromwell.

which being presently consented to, their Speaker, with those who were of that mind, went to *White-Hall*, and deliver'd to *Cromwell* the Instrument they had receiv'd from him, acknowledged their own Impotency, and besought him to take care of the Common-wealth.

BY this frank Donation He and his Council of Officers were once more possessed of the Supreme Soveraign Power of the Nation. And in few days after, his Council were too modest to share with him in this Royal Authority, but declar'd, "That the Government of the Common-wealth should "reside in a single Person; that That Person should be *Oliver* "*Cromwell*, Captain General of all the Forces in *England*, "*Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and that his Title should be *Lord* "*Protector* of the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and "*Ireland*, and of the Dominions and Territories thereunto "belonging;

Cromwell and his Council of Officers make him Lord Protector.

" belonging; and that He ſhould have a Council of one and " twenty Perſons to be Aſſiſtant to him in the Government.

MOST Men did now conclude, that the folly and ſottiſhneſs of this laſt Aſſembly was ſo much foreſeen, that, from their very firſt coming together, it was determin'd what ſhould follow their Diſſolution. For the method that ſucceeded, could hardly have been compoſed in ſo ſhort a time after, by Perſons who had not conſulted upon the contingency ſome time before. It was upon the twelfth of *December*, that the ſmall Parliament was diſſolv'd, when many of the Members, who came to the Houſe as to their uſual conſultations, found that they who came before, were gone to *White-Hall*, to be diſſolv'd; which the other never thought of: And upon the ſixteenth day, the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, were ſent for to attend *Cromwell* and his Council to *Weſtminſter-Hall*; it being then Vacation-time; and being come thither, the Commiſſioners ſitting upon their uſual Seat, and not knowing why they were ſent for, the Declaration of the Council of Officers was read, whereby *Cromwell* was made Protector; who ſtood in the Court uncover'd, whilſt what was contain'd in a piece of Parchment was read, which was call'd the *Inſtrument of Government*; whereby it was ordain'd, "That the Protector ſhould " call a Parliament once in every three years; that the firſt " Parliament ſhould be Conven'd upon the third day of *September* following, which would be in the year 1654; and " that he ſhould not diſſolve any Parliament once met, till " they had ſate five Months; that ſuch Bills as ſhould be preſented to him by the Parliment, if they ſhould not be con- " firm'd by him within twenty days, ſhould paſs without " him, and be look'd upon as Laws: That he ſhould have a " ſelect Council to aſſiſt him, which ſhould not exceed the " Number of one and twenty, nor be leſs than thirteen: That " immediately after his death, the Council ſhould chooſe an- " other Protector, before they roſe: That no Protector after " him ſhould be General of the Army: That the Protector " ſhould have power to make Peace and War: That, with the " conſent of his Council, he ſhould make Laws, which ſhould " be binding to the Subjects during the intervals of Parliament.

December 16. *He is Inſtall'd in* Weſtminſter-Hall *according to an Inſtrument of Government*;

The Subſtance of it.

WHILST this was reading, *Cromwell* had his hand upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his Oath, "That he " would not violate any thing that was contain'd in that In- " ſtrument of Government; but would obſerve, and cauſe " the ſame to be obſerv'd; and in all things, according to the " beſt of his underſtanding, govern the Nation according to " the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms, ſeeking Peace and cauſing " Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſter'd.

Cromwell *takes an Oath to obſerve it.*

THIS

THIS new invented Ceremony being in this manner perform'd, He himself was cover'd, and all the rest bare; and *Lambert*, who was then the second Person in the Army, carried the Sword before his Highness (which was the Style he took from thenceforth) to his Coach, all they whom he call'd into it, sitting bare: and so he return'd to *White-Hall*; and immediately Proclamation was made by a Herald, in the *Palace-Yard* at *Westminster*, "That the late Parliament having "dissolv'd themselves, and resign'd their whole Power and "Authority, the Government of the Common-wealth of "*England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by a Lord Protector, and "successive Triennial Parliaments, was now establish'd: And "whereas *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain General of all the Forces "of the Common-wealth, is declared Lord Protector of the "said Nations, and had accepted thereof, publication was "now made of the same; and all Persons, of what Quality "or Condition soever, in any of the said three Nations, were "strictly charged and commanded to take notice thereof, and "to conform and submit themselves to the Government so "establish'd; and all Sheriffs, Mayors, *&c.* were requir'd to "publish this Proclamation, to the end that none might have "cause to pretend Ignorance therein. Which Proclamation was at the same time published in *Cheapside* by the Lord Mayor of *London*; and, with all possible expedition, by the Sheriffs, and other officers, throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. And in some time after, the City of *London* invited their new Protector to a very splendid Entertainment at *Grocers-Hall*, upon an *Ash-Wednesday*; the Streets being railed, and the Solemnity of his Reception such as had been at any time perform'd to the King: And He, as like a King, graciously conferr'd the honour of Knighthood upon the Lord Mayor at his departure.

He is proclaim'd Protector.

The City invites him to Grocer's Hall.

IN this manner, and with so little pains, this extraordinary Man, without any other reason than because he had a mind to it, and without the assistance, and against the desire of all Noble Persons or Men of Quality, or of any Number of Men, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, were possessed of three hundred pounds Lands by the year, mounted himself into the Throne of three Kingdoms, without the Name of King, but with a greater Power and Authority than had ever been exercised, or claim'd by any King; and receiv'd greater evidence and manifestation of respect, and esteem, from all the Kings and Princes in *Christendom*, than had ever been shew'd to any Monarch of those Nations: which was so much the more notorious, in that they all abhorr'd him, when they trembled at his Power, and courted his Friendship.

THOUGH

THOUGH during this laſt year's unſettlement in *England*, *Cromwell* had, *ex plenitudine poteſtatis*, taken care that there was a good Winter Guard of Ships in the *Downs*, yet the *Dutch* had enjoy'd a very fruitful harveſt of Trade during that confuſion, and ſuſpenſion of Power; and had ſent out their Fleets of Merchant Men under a Convoy, by the North of *Scotland*; and, by the return of that Convoy, receiv'd their Fleet from the *Baltick* with ſecurity: So that, upon the hope thoſe domeſtick contentions in *England* would not be ſo ſoon compoſed, they begun to recover their Spirits again. But *Cromwell* had no ſooner broke the long Parliament, but, with great diligence, he cauſed a ſtrong Fleet to be made ready againſt the Spring; and committed the Command thereof to three Admirals joyntly; *Blake*, a Man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to *Cromwell*; *Monk*, whom he call'd out of *Scotland* as his own Creature; and *Dean*, a meer Sea-man, grown, from a common Mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent Officer.

A Fleet this year 1653. ſet forth under three Admirals.

THIS Fleet in the beginning of *June* in the year 1653, met with the *Dutch* about the middle Seas over between *Dover* and *Zeeland*; and made what haſte they could to engage them. But the Wind not being favourable, it was noon before the Fight begun; which continued very ſharp till the night parted them, without any viſible advantage to either ſide, ſave that *Dean*, one of the *Engliſh* Admirals, was kill'd by a Cannon ſhot from the Rear-Admiral of the *Dutch*. The next morning, the *Dutch* having the advantage of the ſmall Wind that was, the *Engliſh* charged ſo furiouſly upon the thickeſt part of them, without diſcharging any of their Guns till they were at a very ſmall diſtance, that they broke their Squadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the Sail they could for their own Coaſts, leaving behind them eleven of their Ships; which were all taken; beſides ſix which were ſunk. The Execution on the *Dutch* was very great, as was likewiſe the number of the Priſoners, as well Officers as Soldiers. The loſs of the *Engliſh* was greateſt in their General *Dean*: there was, beſides him, but one Captain, and about two hundred Common Sea-men kill'd: the Number of the wounded was greater; nor did they loſe one Ship, nor were ſo diſabled but that they follow'd with the whole Fleet to the Coaſt of *Holland*, whither the other fled; and being got into the *Flie*, and the *Texel*, the *Engliſh* for ſome time block'd them up in their own Harbors, taking all ſuch Ships as came bound for thoſe parts.

The Dutch *beaten at Sea in* June.

THIS great Defeat ſo humbled the States, that they made all poſſible haſte to ſend four Commiſſioners into *England* to mediate for a Treaty, and a Ceſſation of Arms; who were receiv'd

The Dutch *ſend four Commiſſioners to treat of Peace.*

receiv'd very loftily by *Crowwell*, and with ſome reprehenſion for their want of warineſs in entring into ſo unequal a Contention: yet He declar'd a gracious inclination to a Treaty, till the concluſion whereof he could admit no Ceſſation; which being known in *Holland*, they would not ſtay ſo long under the reproach and diſadvantage of being beſieged, and ſhut up in their Ports; but made all poſſible haſte to prepare another Fleet, ſtrong enough to remove the *Engliſh* from their Coaſts; which they believ'd was the beſt Expedient to advance their Treaty: and there cannot be a greater Inſtance of the opulency of that People, than that they ſhould be able, after ſo many loſſes, and ſo late a great Defeat, in ſo ſhort a time to ſet out a Fleet ſtrong enough to viſit thoſe who had ſo lately overcome them, and who ſhut them within their Ports.

THEIR Admiral *Trump* had, with ſome of the Fleet, retired into the *Wierings*, at too great a diſtance from the other Ports for the *Engliſh* Fleet to divide it ſelf. He had, with a marvellous Induſtry, cauſed his hurt Ships to be repair'd; and more ſevere puniſhment to be inflicted on thoſe who had behaved themſelves cowardly, than had ever been uſed in that State. And the States publiſh'd ſo great and ample rewards to all Officers and Sea-men who would, in that conjuncture, repair to their Service, that by the end of *July*, within leſs than two Months after their Defeat, he came out of the *Wierings* with a Fleet of ninety and five Men of War; which aſſoon as the *Engliſh* had notice of, they made towards him. But the Wind riſing, they were forced to ſtand more to Sea, for fear of the Sands and Shelves upon that Coaſt. Whereupon *Van Trump*, all that Night ſtood into the *Texel*; where he joyn'd five and twenty more of their beſt Ships; and with this Addition, which made an hundred and twenty Sail, he faced the *Engliſh*; who, being at this time under the Command of *Monk* alone, kept ſtill to the Sea; and having got a little more room, and the Weather being a little clearer, tack'd about, and were receiv'd by the *Dutch* with great courage and gallantry.

Trump comes to Sea with another Fleet before the end of July.

THE Battle continued very hot, and bloody on both ſides, from ſix of the Clock in the Morning till one in the Afternoon; when the Admiral of *Holland*, the famous *Van Trump*, whilſt he very ſignally perform'd the Office of a brave and bold Commander, was ſhot with a Muſquet Bullet into the heart, of which he fell dead without ſpeaking word. This blow broke the courage of the reſt; who ſeeing many of their Companions burnt and ſunk, after having endured very hot Service, before the Evening, fled, and made all the Sail they could towards the *Texel*; the *Engliſh* were not in a condition

Another Sea Fight; Trump ſlain; the Engliſh got the Victory.

dition to purſue them; but found themſelves obliged to retire to their own Coaſt, both to preſerve and mend their maim'd and tore Ships, and refreſh their wounded Men.

THIS Battle was the moſt bloody that had been yet fought, both ſides rather endeavouring the deſtruction of their Enemies Fleet than the taking their Ships. On the *Hollander*'s part, between twenty and thirty of their Ships of War were fired, or ſunk, and above one thouſand Priſoners taken. The Victory coſt the *Engliſh* dear too; for four hundred common Men, and eight Captains, were ſlain out right, and above ſeven hundred common Men, and five Captains, wounded. But they loſt only one Ship, which was burn'd; and two or three more, though carried home, were diſabled for farther Service. The moſt ſenſible part of the loſs to the *Dutch* was the death of their Admiral *Van Trump*, who, in reſpect of his Maritime experience, and the frequent Actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckon'd amongſt the moſt eminent Commanders at Sea of that Age, and to whoſe memory his Country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

THIS was the laſt Engagement at Sea between the two Common-wealths: for as the *Dutch* were, by this laſt Defeat, and loſs of their brave Admiral, totally diſpirited, and gave their Commiſſioners at *London* order to proſecute the Peace upon any conditions, ſo *Cromwell*, being by this time become Protector, was weary enough of ſo chargeable a War, and knew he had much to do to ſettle the Government at home, and that he might chooſe more convenient Enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themſelves as well, or to do him ſo much harm, as the *Hollanders* had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the *Dutch* to accept of ſuch conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, "That they ſhould not ſuffer any of the King's Party, "or any Enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*, to re- "ſide within their Dominions: and another, which was contain'd in a ſecret Article, to which the Great Seal of the States was affix'd, by which they obliged themſelves "Never "to admit the Prince of *Orange* to be their State-holder, Ge- "neral, or Admiral; and likewiſe to deliver up the Iſland "*Polerone* in the *Eaſt-Indies* (which they had taken from the *Engliſh* in the time of King *James*, and uſurped it ever ſince) "into the hands of the *Eaſt India Engliſh* Company again; and to pay a good Sum of Money for the old barbarous violence exerciſed ſo many years ſince at *Amboyna*; for which the two laſt Kings could never obtain ſatisfaction and reparation: about the middle of *April* 1654, He made a Peace with the States General, with all the advantages he could deſire, having

Cromwell *makes Peace with the* Dutch Apr. 1654.

ving indeed all the Persons of power and interest there, fast bound to him upon their joynt interest.

He makes Portugal send an Embassadour for Peace.

And having now render'd himself terrible abroad, He forced *Portugal* to send an Embassadour to beg Peace, and to submit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving Prince *Rupert*, by the payment of a great Sum of Money; and brought the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* to sue for his Allyance. He suspended for a time to choose a new Enemy, that he might make himself as much obey'd at home, as he was fear'd abroad: and in order to that, he prosecuted all those who had been of the King's Party with the utmost Rigour, laid new impositions upon them, and upon every light rumour of a Conspiracy, clapp'd up all those whom he thought fit to suspect, into close Prisons; enjoyn'd others not to stir from their own Houses, and banish'd all who had ever been in Arms for the King, from the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the Articles granted to them when they gave up their Arms, and to the indemnity upon making their Compositions.

He persecutes the King's Party.

The discontents were general over the whole Kingdom, and among all sorts of People, of what Party soever. The Presbyterians preach'd boldly against the Liberty of Conscience, and the monstrous Licence that sprung from thence; and they who enjoy'd that Licence were as unsatisfied with the Government as any of the rest; talk'd more loudly, and threaten'd the Person of *Cromwell* more than any. But into these distempers *Cromwell* was not inquisitive; nor would give those Men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in question, who, he knew, would say more than he was willing any body should hear; but intended to mortify those unruly Spirits at the charge of the King's Party, and with the Spectacle of their suffering upon any the most trivial occasion. And if, in this general licence of discourse, any Man who was suspected to wish well to the King, let fall any light word against the Government, he was sure to be cast in Prison, and to be pursued with all possible severity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the greatest consolation to miserable Men, who had in themselves or their Friends, been undone by their Loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought on invectives against the Person of *Cromwell*; Wine, and good Fellowship, and the continuance of the discourse, disposing them to take notice of the universal hatred that the whole Nation had of him, and to fancy how easy it would be to destroy him. And commonly there was, in all those meetings, some corrupted Person of the Party, who fomented most the discourse, and, for a vile recompence, betray'd his Companions

The general discontents in the Nation.

ons, and, inform'd of all, and more than had been said. Whereupon a new Plot was discover'd against the Common-wealth and the Person of the Protector, and a high Court of Justice was presently erected to try the Criminals; which rarely absolv'd any Man who was brought before them. But to this kind of Tryal they never exposed any Man but those of the King's Party; the other, of whom they were more afraid, had too many Friends to suffer them to be brought before such a Tribunal; which had been first erected to murder the King himself, and continued to root out all who adher'd to him. No Man who had ever been against the King (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant Power; but such were remitted to the Trial of the Law by Juries, which seldom condemn'd any.

THE very next Month after the Peace was made, for the better establishment of *Cromwell*'s Empire, a High Court of Justice was erected for the Trial of Persons accused of "Holding correspondence with *Charles Stuart* (which was the Style they allow'd the King) "And for having a design "against the life of the Protector, to seise upon the Tower, "and to proclaim the King. The chief Persons they accused of this were, Mr *Gerrard*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been an Ensign in the King's Army, but was not at present above twenty two years of Age: the other, one Mr *Vowel*; who kept a School, and taught many Boys about *Islington*. Mr *Gerrard* was charged with "Having been at *Pa*"*ris*, and having there spoken with the King; which he confessed; and declared "That he went to *Paris* upon a business "that concern'd himself (which he named) "and when he "had dispatched it, and was to return for *England*, he desired "the Lord *Gerrard*, his Kinsman, to present him to the King, "that he might kiss his hand; which he did in a large Room, "where were many present; and that, when he asked his Ma"jesty, whether he would command him any Service into "*England*? his Majesty bid him to commend him to his "Friends there, and to charge them that they should be quiet, "and not engage themselves in any Plots; which must prove "ruinous to them, and could do the King no good: which was very true: for his Majesty had observ'd so much of the temper of the People at his being at *Worcester*, and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitless any Insurrection must be, that he endeavour'd nothing more than to divert, and suppress all inclinations that way. However this High Court of Justice receiv'd proof, that Mr *Gerrard* and Mr *Vowel* had been present with some other Gentlemen in a Tavern, where discourse had been held, "How easy "a thing it was to kill the Protector, and at the same time to "seise

A High Court of Justice erected a month after the Peace with Holland.

Mr Gerrard *and Mr* Vowel *tried before them.*

"seise upon the Tower of *London*, and that, if at the same "time the King were proclaim'd, the City of *London* would "presently declare for his Majesty, and no body would op- "pose him.

They are condemn'd. Mr Vowel executed at Charing-Cross: his magnanimous behaviour.

UPON this Evidence, these two Gentlemen were condemn'd to be hang'd; and upon the tenth of *July*, about two Months after they had been in Prison, a Gallows was erected at *Charing-Cross*; whither Mr *Vowel* was brought; who was a Person utterly unknown to the King, and to any Person entrusted by him, but very worthy to have his name, and memory preserv'd in the List of those who shew'd most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their Lives for the Crown. He expressed a marvellous contempt of death; "Which, he said, "He suffer'd without having committed any fault. He professed his duty to the King, and his reverence for the Church; and earnestly and pathetically advised the People to return to their fidelity to both; "Which, he told them "they "would at last be compell'd to do after all their Sufferings. He addressed himself most to the Soliders; told them, "How "unworthily they prostituted themselves to serve the Ambi- "tion of an unworthy Tyrant; and conjured them "To for- "sake Him, and to serve the King; which, he was sure, they "would at last do. And so having devoutly recommended the King, and the Kingdom, and Himself, to God in very pious Prayers, he ended his Life with as much Christian Resolution, as can be expected from the most composed Conscience.

Mr Gerrard beheaded on Tower-Hill in the afternoon of the same day.

THE Protector was prevail'd with to shew more respect to Mr *Gerrard* in causing him to be beheaded, who was brought the Afternoon of the same day to a Scaffold upon the *Tower-Hill*. But they were so ill pleased with the behaviour of Him who suffered in the Morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the People, but pressed him to discover all the Secrets of the plot and Conspiracy. He told them, "That "if he had a hundered lives, he would lose them all to do the "King any service; and was now willing to die upon that "suspicion; but that he was very innocent of what was char- "ged against him; that he had not enter'd into, or consented "to any Plot or Conspiracy, nor given any countenance to "any discourse to that purpose; and offer'd again to speak to the People, and to magnify the King: upon which they would not suffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted courage, he laid down his head upon the Block.

The same day and place the Portugal Embassadour's Brother beheaded.

THE same day was concluded with a very exemplary piece of Justice, and of a very different nature from the other two. The Embassadour of *Portugal* had a very splendid Equipage, and in his Company his Brother *Don Pantaleon Sa*, a Knight

of

of *Malta*, and a Man eminent in many great Actions; who out of curiousity accompanied his Brother in this Embassy, that he might see *England*. This Gentleman was of a haughty and imperious nature; and one day being in the new Exchange, upon a suddain accident, and mistake, had a Quarrel with that Mr *Gerrard*, whom we now left without his Head; who had then return'd some negligence and contempt to the Rodomontadoes of the *Portuguese*, and had left him sensible of receiving some affront. Whereupon the *Don* repair'd thither again the next day, with many Servants, better arm'd, and provided for any Encounter, imagining he should there find his former Adversary, who did not expect that visit. But the *Portuguese* not distinguishing Persons, and finding many Gentlemen walking there, and, amongst the rest, one he believ'd very like the other, he thought he was not to lose the occasion, and enter'd into a new Quarrel; in which a Gentleman utterly unacquinted with what had formerly passed, and walking there accidentally, was kill'd, and others hurt; upon which, the People rising from all the Neighbour places, *Don Pantaleon* thought fit to make his retreat to his Brother's House; which he did, and caused the Gates to be lock'd, and put all the Servants in Arms to defend the House against the People; which had pursued him, and flock'd now together from all parts to apprehend those who had caused the disorder, and had kill'd a Gentleman.

The Embassadour knew nothing of the affair, but look'd upon himself as affronted, and assaulted by a rude Multitude; and took care to defend his House till the Justice should allay the Tumult. *Cromwell* was quickly advertised of the insolence, and sent an Officer with Soldiers to demand and seise upon all the Persons who had been engaged in the Action: and so the Embassadour came to be inform'd of the truth of the story, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and astonish'd. The Officer demanded the Person of his Brother, who was well known, and the rest of those who were present, to be deliver'd to him, without which he would break open the House, and find them wherever they were conceal'd. The Embassadour demanded the Privilege that was due to his House by the Law of Nations, and which he would defend against any Violence with his own Life, and the Lives of all his Family; but finding the Officer resolute, and that he should be too weak in the Encounter, he desired respite till he might send to the Protector; which was granted to him. He complain'd of the Injury that was done him, and desired an Audience. *Cromwell* sent him word, "That a Gentleman "had been murther'd, and many others hurt; and that Justice "must be satisfied; and therefore required that all the Per-

"ſons engaged might be deliver'd into the hands of his Offi-
"cer; without which, if he ſhould withdraw the Soliders,
"and deſiſt the requiring it, the People would pull down the
"Houſe, and execute Juſtice themſelves; of which he would
"not anſwer for the effect. When this was done, he ſhould
"have an Audience, and all the ſatisfaction it was in his power
"to give. The Embaſſadour deſired "That his Brother, and
"the reſt, might remain in his Houſe, and he would be re-
"ſponſible, and produce them before the Juſtice as the time
"ſhould be aſſign'd. But nothing would ſerve but the delivery
of the Perſons, and the People encreaſed their cry "That they
"would pull down the Houſe. Whereupon the Embaſſadour
was compell'd to deliver up his Brother, and the reſt of the
Perſons; who were all ſent Priſoners to *Newgate*. The Em-
baſſadour uſed all the Inſtances he could for his Brother, be-
ing willing to leave the reſt to the mercy of the Law; but
could receive no other anſwer, but "That Juſtice muſt be done;
and Juſtice was done to the full; for they were all brought to
their Tryal at the Seſſions at *Newgate*, and there ſo many of
them condemn'd to be hang'd as were found guilty. The reſt
of thoſe who were condemn'd, were executed at *Tiburn*; and
Don Pantaleon himſelf was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower*-
Hill, aſſoon as Mr *Gerrard* was executed; where he loſt his
head with leſs grace than his Antagoniſt had done.

The condition of the Protector in reſpect of his Neighbours.

THOUGH the Protector had nothing now to do but at
home, *Holland* having accepted Peace upon his own terms,
Portugal bought it at a full price, and upon an humble Sub-
miſſion, *Denmark* being contented with ſuch an Allyance as
he was pleaſed to make with them, and *France* and *Spain* con-
tending, by their Embaſſadours, which ſhould render them-

The State of Scotland under him:

ſelves moſt acceptable to him; *Scotland* lying under a heavy
Yoke by the ſtrict Government of *Monk*, who after the Peace
with the *Dutch* was ſent back to govern that Province, which
was reduced under the Government of the *Engliſh* Laws, and
their Kirk, and Kirkmen, entirely ſubdued to the obedience

Of Ireland.

of the State with reference to Aſſemblies, or Synods; *Ireland*
being confeſſedly ſubdued, and no oppoſition made to the Pro-
tector's Commands; ſo that Commiſſions were ſent to divide
all the Lands which had belong'd to the *Iriſh*, or to thoſe *Eng-
liſh* who had adhered to the King, amongſt thoſe Adventurers
who had ſupplied Money for the War, and the Soldiers and
Officers; who were in great Arrears for their pay, and who
receiv'd liberal Aſſignations in Lands; one whole Province
being reſerved for the *Iriſh* to be confined to; and all theſe
Diviſions made under the Government of his younger Son,
Harry Cromwell, whom he ſent thither as his Lieutenant of
that Kingdom; who liv'd in the full Grandeur of the Office;
notwith-

notwithstanding all this, *England* prov'd not yet so towardly as he expected. *Vane* and the most considerable Men of the Independent Party, from the time he had turn'd them out of the Parliament, and so dissolv'd it, retired quietly to their Houses in the Country; poyson'd the Affections of their Neighbours towards the Government; and lost nothing of their credit with the People; yet carried themselves so warily, that they did nothing to disturb the Peace of the Nation, or to give *Cromwell* any advantage against them upon which to call them in question.

Disputes among his own Party:

THERE were another less wary, because a more desperate Party, which were the Levellers; many whereof had been the most active Agitators in the Army, who had executed his Orders and Designs in incensing the Army against the Parliament, and had been at that time his sole Confidents and Bedfellows; who, from the time that he assumed the Title of Protector, which to them was as odious as that of King, professed a mortal hatred to his Person; and he well knew both these People had too much credit in his Army, and with some principal Officers of it. Of these Men he stood in more fear than of all the Kings Party; of which he had in truth very little apprehension, though he colour'd many of the preparations he made against the other, as if provided against the dangers threaten'd from them.

especially the Levellers.

BUT the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the Instrument of Government, and upon his Oath, to call a Parliament; which seem'd to him the only means left to compose the minds of the People to an entire submission to his Government. In order to this Meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending Writs out to all the little Boroughs throughout *England*, which use to send Burgesses (by which Method some single Counties send more Members to the Parliament, than six other Counties do) he thought he took a more equal way by appointing more Knights for every Shire to be chosen, and fewer Burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessen'd; and yet, the People being left to their own Election, it was not by him thought an ill temperament, and was then generally look'd upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And so, upon the receipt of his Writs, Elections were made accordingly in all places; and such Persons, for the most part, chosen and return'd, as were believ'd to be the best affected to the present Government, and to those who had any Authority in it; there being strict Order given, "That "no Person who had ever been against the Parliament du-"ring the time of the Civil War, or the Sons of any such "Persons, should be capable of being chosen to sit in that

He calls a Parliament after a new Method.

"Parliament; nor were any such Persons made choice of.

His Parliament meets Sept. 3. 1654.

THE day of their meeting was the third of *September* in the year 1654, within less than a year after he had been declared Protector; when, after they had been at a Sermon in the Abby at *Westminster*, they all came into the Painted Chamber; where his Highness made them a large discourse; and told them "That that Parliament was such a Congregation of

The Substance of his Speech to them:

"wise, prudent, and discreet Persons, that *England* had scarce "seen the like: that he should forbear relating to them the "Series of God's Providence all along to that time, because it "was well known to them; and only declare to them, that "the erection of his present power was a suitable providence to the rest, by shewing what a condition these Nations were "in at its erection: that Then every Man's heart was against "another's, every Man's interest divided against another's, "and almost every thing grown Arbitrary: that there was "grown up a general contempt of God and Christ, the Grace "of God turn'd into wantonness, and his Spirit made a Cloak "for all wickedness and prophaneness, nay, that the Ax was "even laid to the root of the Ministry, and swarms of Jesuits "were continually watted over hither to consume and destroy "the Welfare of *England*: that the Nation was then likewise "engaged in a deep War with *Portugal*, *Holland*, and *France*, "so that the whole Nation was one heap of confusion; but "that this present Government was calculated for the People's "Interest, let malignant Spirits say what they would; and that, "with humbleness towards God, and modesty towards Them, "he would recount somewhat in the behalf of the Govern-"ment. First, it had endeavour'd to reform the Law; it had "put into the Seat of Justice Men of known integrity, and "ability; it had settled a way for probation of Ministers to "Preach the Gospel: and besides all this, it had called a free "Parliament: that, blessed be God, they that day saw a free "Parliament: then as to Wars, that a Peace was made with "*Denmark*, *Sweden*, the *Dutch*, and *Portugal*, and was like-"wise near concluding with *France*: that these things were "but entrances and doors of hopes; but now he made no "question to enable them to lay the top Stone of the Work, "recommending to them that maxim, that Peace, though it "were made, was not to be trusted farther than it consisted "with Interest: that the great Work which now lay upon "this Parliament, was, that the Government of *England* might "be settled upon terms of *Honour*: that they would avoid con-"fusions, lest Forreign States should take Advantage of them: "that, as for himself, he did not speak like one that would be "a Lord over them, but as one that would be a Fellow-Ser-"vant in that great Affair: and concluded, "That they should

"go

"go to their Houſe," and there make choice of a Speaker: which they preſently did, and ſeem'd very unanimous in their firſt Act, which was the making choice of *William Lenthall* to be their Speaker; which Agreement was upon very diſagreeing Principles. *Cromwell* having deſign'd him, for lucks ſake, and being well acquainted with his temper, concluded, that he would be made a property in This, as well as he had been in the long Parliament, when he always complied with that Party that was moſt powerful. And the other Perſons who meant nothing that *Cromwell* did, were well pleaſed, out of hope that the ſame Man's being in the Chair might facilitate the renewing and reviving the former Houſe; which they look'd upon as the true legitimate Parliament, ſtrangled by the Tyranny of *Cromwell*, and yet that it had life enough left in it. William Lenthall *choſen their Speaker.*

LENTHALL was no ſooner in his Chair than it was propoſed, "That they might in the firſt place conſider by what "Authority they came thither, and whether that which had "Conven'd them, had a Lawful power to that purpoſe. From which Subject the Protector's Creatures, and thoſe of the Army, endeavour'd to divert them by all the Arguments they could. Notwithſtanding which, the current of the Houſe inſiſted upon the firſt clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which all their Counſels muſt be built: and as many of the Members poſitively enough declar'd againſt that Power, ſo one of them, more confident than the reſt, ſaid plainly, "that they might eaſily diſcern the Snares which were laid "to entrap the Privileges of the People; and for his own "part, as God had made him inſtumental in cutting down "Tyranny in one Perſon, ſo now he could not endure to ſee "the Nation's Liberties ſhackled by another, whoſe Right to "the Government could not be meaſured otherwiſe than by "the length of his Sword, which alone had embolden'd him "to Command his Commanders. This Spirit prevail'd ſo far, that, for eight days together, thoſe of the Council of Officers, and others (who were called the Court Party) could not divert the queſtion from being put, "Whether the Govern-"ment ſhould be by a Protector and a Parliament, any other way than by lengthning the Debate, and then Adjourning the Houſe when the queſtion was ready to be put, becauſe they plainly ſaw that it would be carried in the Negative. *Their Actings.*

THE continuance of this warm Debate in the Houſe, in which the Protector's own Perſon was not treated with much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and obliged him once more to try, what reſpect his Soveraign Preſence would produce towards a better Compoſure. So he came again to the

Cromwell speaks to them in the Painted Chamber.

Painted Chamber, and sent for his Parliament to come to him; and then told them, "That the great God of Heaven and "Earth knew what Grief and Sorrow of heart it was to him, "to find them falling into Heats and Divisions; that he would "have them take notice of this, that the same Government "made Him a Protector, that made Them a Parliament: that "as they were intrusted in some things, so was He in others: "that in the Government were certain fundamentals, which "could not be alter'd; to wit, that the Government should be "in a single Person and a Parliament; that Parliaments should "not be perpetual, and always sitting; that the Militia should "not be trusted into one Hand, or Power, but so as the Par-"liament might have a check on the Protector, and the Pro-"tector on the Parliament; that in matters of Religion there "ought to be a Liberty of Conscience, and the Persecution "in the Church was not to be Tolerated: These, he said, "were unalterable fundamentals: as for other things in the "Government, they were examinable and alterable as the "State of Affairs did require: that, for his own part, he was "even overwhelm'd with Grief, to see that any of them should "go about to overthrow what was settled, contrary to the trust "they had receiv'd from the People; which could not but "bring very great inconveniencies upon themselves and the "Nation. When he had made this frank Declaration unto them what they were to trust to, the better to confirm them in their duty, he had appointed a Guard to attend at the door of the Parliament House, and there to restrain all Men from entring into the House who refused to subscribe this following Engagement: "I do hereby promise and engage to be "true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Common-"wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and shall not (ac-"cording to the tenour of this Indenture, whereby I am re-"turn'd to serve in Parliament) propose to give any Consent "to alter the Government as it is settled in one Person and a "Parliament.

He admits none into the House but such as subscribed an Engagement to him.

THIS Engagement a considerable part of the Members utterly refused to sign; and call'd it a violation of the Privilege of Parliament, and an absolute depriving them of that freedom which was essential to it. So they were excluded, and restrain'd from entring into the House: and they who did subscribe it, and had thereupon Liberty to sit there, were yet so refractory to any Proposition that might settle him in the Government in the manner he desir'd it, that, after the five Months near spent in wrangling, and useless discourses (during which he was not to attempt the Dissolution of them, by his Instrument of Government) he took the first opportunity to dissolve them; and upon the two and twentieth of *January*,

He dissolves them Jan. 22.

nuary, with ſome reproaches, he let them know he could do the buſineſs without them; and ſo diſmiſſed them with much evidence of his Diſpleaſure: and they again retired to their habitations, reſolv'd to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their ſubmitting to his Uſurpation, by undertaking any Imployment or Office under his Authority, He as carefully endeavouring and watching to find ſuch an Advantage againſt them, as might make them lyable to the penalty of the Laws. Yet even his weakneſs and impotency upon ſuch a notorious Advantage, appear'd into two very notable Inſtances, which happen'd about that time, in the Caſe of two Perſons, whoſe Names were then much taken notice of upon the Stage of Affairs, *John Wildman*, and *John Lilburn*.

An account of John Wildman *and* John Lilburn, *Levellers.*

THE former had been bred a Scholar in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and being young, and of a pregnant Wit, in the beginning of the Rebellion meant to make his Fortune in the War; and choſe to depend upon *Cromwell*'s countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a Captain of a Troop of Horſe himſelf, and was much eſteem'd and valued by him, and made an Officer; and was ſo active in contriving and fomenting Jealouſies and Diſcontents, and ſo dextrous in compoſing, or improving any Diſguſts, and ſo inſpired with the Spirit of Praying and Preaching, when thoſe gifts came into requeſt, and became thriving Arts, that about the time when the King was taken from *Holmby*, and it was neceſſary that the Army ſhould enter into Conteſts with the Parliament, *John Wildman* grew to be one of the principal Agitators, and was moſt relied upon by *Cromwell* to infuſe thoſe things into the minds of the Soliders, and to conduct them in the managery of their Diſcontents, as might moſt advance thoſe deſigns He then had; and quickly got the reputation of a Man of Parts; and having a ſmooth Pen, drew many of the Papers which firſt kindled the Fire between the Parliament and the Army, that was not afterwards extinguiſh'd but in the ruin of Both. His reputation in thoſe Faculties made him quit the Army; where he was become a Major; and where he kept ſtill a great Intereſt, and betook himſelf to Civil Affairs, in the ſollicitation of Suits depending in the Parliament, or before Committees; where he had much Credit with thoſe who had moſt power to do Right or Wrong, and ſo made himſelf neceſſary to thoſe who had need of ſuch Protection from the Tyranny of the time. By theſe Arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the Army, and kept, and encreaſed his Credit there, by the Intereſt he had in other places. When *Cromwell* declin'd the ways of eſtabliſhing the Common-wealth, *Wildman*, amongſt

John Wildman.

the reſt, forſook him; and enter'd, warily into any Counſels which were like to deſtroy him: And upon the diſſolution of this laſt Parliament, having leſs of flegm, and ſo leſs patience, than other Men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to eſtabliſh his Greatneſs, he did believe he ſhould be able to make ſuch a Schiſm in the Army, as would give an opportunity to other enraged Perſons to take vengeance upon him.

CROMWELL knew the Man, and his undermining Faculties; knew he had ſome deſign in hand, but could not make any ſuch diſcovery as might warrant a publick Proſecution; but appointed ſome truſty Spies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his Papers; the ſpreading whereof, he knew, would be the Preamble to any Conſpiracy of His. Shortly after the diſſolution of that Parliament, theſe Inſtruments of *Cromwell*'s ſurpriſed him in a Room, where he thought he had been ſafe enough, as he was writing a Declaration; and ſeiſed upon the Papers; the title whereof was, "A Declaration, containing "the reaſons and motives which oblige Us to take up Arms "againſt *Oliver Cromwell*; and though it was not finiſh'd, yet in that that was done, there was all Venom imaginable expreſſed againſt him, and a large and bitter Narration of all his foul breach of Truſt, and Perjuries, enough to have expoſed any Man to the ſevereſt Judgment of that time; and as much as he could wiſh to diſcover againſt Him, or any Man whom he moſt deſired to deſtroy. The Iſſue was, the Man was ſtreightly Impriſon'd, and preparations made for his Trial, and towards his Execution, which all Men expected. But, whether *Cromwell* found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to Juſtice, or were fit to be diſcover'd (as many Men believ'd) or that *Wildman* obliged himſelf for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a Spy for him upon others (as others at that time ſuſpected, and had reaſon for it afterwards) after a ſhort time of Impriſonment, the Man was reſtored to his Liberity; and reſorted, with the ſame ſucceſs and reputation to his former courſe of Life; in which he thrived very notably.

John Lilburn.

THE Caſe of *John Lilburn* was much more wonderful, and adminiſter'd more occaſion of diſcourſe and obſervation. This Man, before the Troubles, was a poor Book-binder; and for procuring ſome Seditious Pamphlets againſt the Church and State to be printed and diſperſed, had been ſeverely cenſured in the *Star-Chamber*, and receiv'd a ſharp Caſtigation, which made him more obſtinate and malicious againſt them; and, as he afterwards confeſſed, in the melancholy of his Impriſonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he raiſed

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in himself a marvellous inclination and appetite to suffer in the defence or for the vindication of any oppressed Truth; and found himself very much confirm'd in that spirit; and in that time diligently collected, and read all those Libels and Books, which had anciently, as well as lately been written against the Church: from whence, with the venom, he had likewise contracted the impudence and bitterness of their Style; and by practice, brought himself to the faculty of writing like them: and so when that Licence broke in of printing all that malice and wit could suggest, he publish'd some Pamphlets in his own name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might asperse the Government most to the sense of the People, and to their humour. When the War begun, he put himself into the Army; and was taken Prisoner by the King's Forces in that Engagement at *Brentford*, shortly after the Battle of *Edge-hill*; and being then a Man much known, and talk'd of for his qualities above mention'd, he was not so well treated in Prison as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the Chief Justice, to be tried for Treason, by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer (in which method the King intended then to have proceeded against the Rebels which should be taken) he behaved himself with so great impudence, in extolling the power of the Parliament, that it was manifest he had an ambition to have been made a Martyr for that Cause. But as he was liberally supplied from his Friends at *London* (and the Parliament in expres terms declar'd, "That they would inflict punishment "upon the Prisoners they had of the King's Party, in the "same manner as *Lilburn* and the rest should suffer at *Oxford*) so he did find means to corrupt the Marshal who had the custody of him; and made his escape into the Parliament Quarters; where he was receiv'd with publick Joy, as a Champion that had defied the King in his own Court.

FROM this time he was entertain'd by *Cromwell* with great familiarity, and, in his contests with the Parliament, was of much use to him, and privacy with him. But he begun then to find him of so restless and unruly a Spirit, and to make those advances in Religion against the Presbyterians before he thought it seasonable, that he dispensed with his presence in the Army, where he was an Officer of Name, and made him reside in *London*, where he wish'd that temper should be improv'd. And when the Parliament was so much offended with his seditious humour, and the Pamphlets he publish'd every day in Religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they resolv'd to prosecute him with great rigour (towards which the Assembly of Divines, which he had likewise provok'd, contributed their desire, and demand) *Cromwell* writ a very

a very passionate Letter to the Parliament, "That they would "not so much discourage their Army, that was fighting for "them, as to censure an Officer of it for his opinion in point "of Conscience; for the Liberty whereof, and to free them-"selves from the shackles in which the Bishops would enslave "them, that Army had been principally raised. Upon which, all farther prosecution against *Lilburn* was declin'd at that time, though he declin'd not the farther provocation; and continued to make the Proceedings of the Parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that *Cromwell* had dispersed that Parliament, and was, in effect, in possession of the Soveraign Power, *Lilburn* withdrew his favour for him; and thought him now an Enemy worthy of his displeasure; and, both in discourses and writings, in Pamphlets and Invectives, loaded him with all the Aspersions of Hypocrisy, Lying, and Tyranny, and all other imputations and reproaches which either he deserv'd, or the malice or bitterness of the other's Nature could suggest to him, to make him the most universally odious that a faithless perjur'd Person could be.

CROMWELL could bear ill language and reproaches with less disturbance, and concernment, than any Person in Authority had ever done: yet the prosecution this Man exercised him with, made him plainly discern that it would be impossible to preserve his Dignity, or to have any security in the Government, whilst His Licence continued; and therefore, after he had set spies upon him to observe his Actions, and collect his Words, and upon advice with the Council at Law of the State, was confidently inform'd, "That as well by the "old establish'd Laws, as by new Ordinances, *Lilburn* was "guilty of High Treason, and had forfeited his Life, if he "were prosecuted in any Court of Justice; he caused him to be sent to *Newgate*, and at the next Sessions to be indicted of High Treason: all the Judges being present, and the Council at Law to inforce the Evidence, and all care being taken for the return of such a Jury as might be fit for the importance of the Case. *Lilburn* appear'd undaunted, and with the confidence of a Man that was to play a Prize before the People for their own liberty; he pleaded Not-guilty, and heard all the Charge and Evidence against him with patience enough, save that, by interrupting the Lawyers, sometimes, who prosecuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of the Judges, he shew'd that he had no reverence for their Persons, nor any submission to their Authority. The whole day was spent in his Tryal; and when he came to make his Defence, he mingled so much Law in his discourse to invalidate their Authority, and to make it appear so Tyrannical, that neither their Lives, Liberties nor Estates were in any degree secure, whilst that

that Uſurpation was exerciſed; and anſwer'd all the matters objected againſt him with ſuch an aſſurance, making them "To contain nothing of High Treaſon, and That to be a Go- "vernment againſt which High Treaſon could not be com- "mitted; and telling them "That all true born *Engliſh* Men "were obliged to oppoſe this Tyranny, as he had done purely "for their ſakes, and that he had done it only for their ſakes, "and to preſerve them from being Slaves, contrary to his own "profit and worldly Intereſt: He told them "How much he "had been in *Cromwell*'s Friendſhip: that he might have re- "ceiv'd any benefit, or preferment from him, if he would "have ſate ſtill, and ſeen his Country enſlav'd; which becauſe "he would not do, he was brought hither to have his life "taken from him by their Judgment; which he apprehend- "ed not: he defended himſelf with that vigour, and charm'd the Jury ſo powerfully, that, againſt all the direction and charge the Judges could give them (who aſſur'd them "That "the words and actions fully proved againſt the Priſoner, were "High Treaſon by the Law; and that they were bound, by "all the obligation of Conſcience, to find him guilty) after no long conſultation between themſelves, they return'd with their Verdict, "That he was Not-guilty: nor could they be perſwaded by the Judges to change or recede from their Verdict: which infinitely enraged and perplexed *Cromwell*; who look'd upon it as a greater Defeat than the loſs of a Battle would have been. And though *Lilburn* was thus quitted in the year 1653, yet *Cromwell* would never ſuffer him to be ſet at Liberty, as by the Law he ought to have been, but ſent him from Priſon to Priſon, and kept him encloſed there till He himſelf died. Theſe two Inſtances of Perſons not otherwiſe conſiderable, are thought pertinent to be inſerted, as an evidence of the temper of the Nation; and how far the Spirits of that time were from paying a ſubmiſſion to that power, when no body had the courage to lift up their hands againſt it.

The King's condition abroad.

WHATEVER uneaſineſs and perplexity *Cromwell* found in his condition at home, the King found no benefit from it abroad, or from the Friendſhip, or the Indignation of other Princes; They had all the ſame terrible Apprehenſion of *Cromwell*'s power as if he had been landed with an Army in any of their Dominions, and look'd upon the King's condition as deſperate, and not to be ſupported. The Treaty between *France* and *England* proceeded very faſt; and every day produced freſh Evidence of the good Intelligence between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal. The Ships and Priſoners which had been taken when they went to relieve *Dunkirk*, and by the taking whereof *Dunkirk* had been loſt, were now reſtored, and

Cromwell's Treaty with France.

and set at liberty; and such mutual Offices perform'd between them, as, with frequent evidences of Aversion from the King and his Interest, made it very manifest to his Majesty, that his residence would not be suffer'd to continue longer in *France*, after the Alliance should be publish'd with *Cromwell*; which was not yet perfected, by the Cardinal's blushing to consent to some Propositions, without which the other's fast Friendship was not to be obtain'd; and he was not willing that modesty should be conquer'd at once, though every body knew it would quickly be prostituted.

The King thinks of retreating out of France; but whither? was the Question.

THERE could be no doubt but that the King was heartily weary of being in a place where he was so ill treated; where he liv'd so uncomfortably, and from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven. But as he had no Money to enable him to remove, or to pay the Debts he ow'd there, so he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a Civil Reception. *Holland* was bound not to admit him into their Dominions, and by their Example had shew'd other Princes, and States, what condition They must submit to who would be Allies to *Cromwell*. The King of *Spain* was at the same time contending with *France* for *Cromwell*'s Friendship, and thought he had some Advantage with him by the Residence his Majesty had in *France*: so there could be no thought of repairing into *Flanders*, and that he could be admitted to stay there. The Protestants, in most places, expressed much more Inclination to the Rebels than to Him. The Roman Catholicks look'd upon him as in so desperate a condition, that he would in a short time be necessitated to throw himself into their Arms by changing his Religion, without which they generally declar'd, "They would never give "him the least Assistance. In this distress, his Majesty resum'd the considerations he had formerly enter'd upon, of sending to the Diet; which was summon'd by the Emperour to meet shortly at *Ratisbone*, to make choice of a King of the *Romans*. And *Germany* being then in Peace, the Emperour made little doubt of finding a concurrence in the choice of the King of *Hungary* his eldest Son to be made King of the *Romans*, and thereby to be sure to succeed him in the Empire. Our King had long design'd to send the Lord *Wilmot* on that Errand, to try what the Emperour, and Princes of *Germany* would do, in such a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other Princes with themselves, in undertaking a quarrel they were all concern'd in, to restore a Prince so injur'd and oppress'd by so odious a Rebellion; and in the mean time, of which there appear'd to be more hope, what contribution they would make towards his Support; and likewise, upon this occasion, what fit place might be found, in the nearest parts of

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Germany, for the King to repair to; where he might attend his better destiny.

It was most suitable to the occasion, and the necessity of the King's Condition, that this Affair should be dispatched in as private a way as was possible, and with as little expence, it being impossible to send an Embassadour in such an Equipage, as at such an illustrious Convention of all the Princes of the Empire, was necessary. *Wilmot* pressed very much for that Character, that he might the more easily accomplish his being made an Earl; for which he had obtain'd the King's promise in a fit season. And he took great pains to perswade the King, "That this was a proper season, and very much "for the Advancement of his Service: but, that if he had the "Title of an Earl, which would be look'd upon as a high "Qualification, he would not assume the Character of Em-"bassadour, though he would carry such a Commission with "him, but make all his Negotiations as a private Envoy; of which he promised the King wonderful Effects, and pretended to have great assurance of Money, and of making Levies of Men for any Expedition. The King, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any hope of notable Advantage from this Agitation, was contented to make him Earl of *Rochester*; and gave him all such Commissions, and Credentials, as were necessary for the Employment; and sent him from *Paris* in the *Christmas* time, that he might be at *Ratisbone* at the meeting of the Diet, which was to be in the beginning of *April* following; means having been found to procure so much Money as was necessary for that Journey, out of the Assignment that had been made to the King for his Support: of which there was a great Arrear due, and which the Cardinal caused at this time to be supplied, because he looked upon this sending to *Ratisbone* as a preparatory for the King's own remove.

The King makes Wilmot Earl of Rochester: and sends him to the Diet at Ratisbone.

Though *Scotland* was vanquished, and subdued, to that degree, that there was no Place nor Person who made the least shew of opposing *Cromwell*; who, by the Administration of *Monk*, made the Yoke very grievous to the whole Nation; yet the Preachers kept their Pulpit Licence; and, more for the affront that was offer'd to Presbytery, than the Conscience of what was due to Majesty, many of them presumed to pray for the King; and generally, though secretly, exasperated the minds of the People against the present Government. The High-landers by the Advantage of their Situation, and the hardiness of that People, made frequent Incursions in the night into the *English* Quarters; and kill'd many of their Soldiers, but stole more of their Horses: and where there was most

The affairs of Scotland at this time.

most appearance of Peace, and Subjection, if the Soldiers stragled in the night, or went single in the day, they were usually knock'd on the head; and no Enquiry could discover the Malefactors.

MANY Expresses were sent to the King, as well from those who were Prisoners in *England*, as from some Lords who were at liberty in *Scotland*, "That *Middleton* might be "sent into the High-lands with his Majesty's Commission; and in the mean time the Earl of *Glencarne*, a gallant Gentleman, offer'd, if he were Authoriz'd by the King, to draw a Body of Horse and Foot together in the High-lands, and infest the Enemy, and be ready to submit to *Middleton*, assoon as he should arrive there with a supply of Arms and Ammunition. Accordingly the King had sent a Commission to the Earl of *Glencarne*; who behaved himself very worthily, and gave *Monk* some trouble. But he pressing very earnestly, that *Middleton* might be sent over to compose some Animosities, and Emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that Union, without which nothing could succeed, his Majesty, about the time that the Earl of *Rochester* was dispatch'd for *Ratisbone*, sent likewise *Middleton* into *Scotland*, with some few Officers of that Nation, and such a poor supply of Arms and Ammunition, as, by the activity and industry of *Middleton*, could be got upon the credit and contribution of some Merchants and Officers in *Holland* of that Nation, who were willing to redeem their Country from the Slavery it was in. With this very slender Assistance he Transported himself in the Winter into the High-lands; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he look'd to find in Arms, more broken with Faction amongst themselves, than by the Enemy; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after *Glencarne* had deliver'd his thin unarm'd Troops to *Middleton*, and condescended to Fight a Duel with an Inferior Officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his Command, whether he was troubled to have another Command over him, who, upon the matter, had no other Men to Command but what were raised by him, though he had exceedingly pressed *Middleton*'s being sent over to that purpose, or whether convinced with the impossibility of the Attempt, he retired first to his own House, and then made his Peace with *Monk*, that he might live quietly, and retain'd still his Affection and Fidelity to the King; which he made manifest afterwards in a more favourable conjuncture: and at the same time he excused himself to the King, for giving over an Enterprise which he was not able to prosecute, though *Middleton* sustain'd it a full year afterwards.

The King sent a Commission to the Earl of Glencarne.

And Middleton *is sent into* Scotland.

Glencarne *retires to his own House; and made his Peace with* Monk.

THE truth is, the two Persons who were most concern'd in

in that Expedition, had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any ſucceſs, the King, and *Middleton*; who had both ſeen an Army of that People, well provided with all things neceſſary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more Advantageous. And how could thoſe now, drawn together by chance, half arm'd and undiſciplin'd, be able to contend with Victorious Troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got? But his Majeſty could not refuſe to give them leave to Attempt what they believ'd they could go through with; and *Middleton*, who had promiſed them to come to them, when he was aſſured he ſhould be enabled to carry over with him two thouſand Men, and good ſtore of Arms, thought himſelf obliged to venture his Life with them who expected him, though he could carry no more with him than is mention'd; and by his behaviour there, notwithſtanding all diſcouragement, he manifeſted how much he would have done, if others had perform'd half their promiſes.

It will not be amiſs in this place to mention an Adventure that was made during his being in the High-lands, which deſerves to be recorded for the honour of the Undertakers. There was attending upon the King a young Gentleman, one Mr *Wogan*, a very handſome Perſon, of the age of three or four and twenty. This Gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or ſixteen years, been by the corruption of ſome of his neareſt Friends, engaged in the Parliament Service againſt the King; where the eminency of his courage made him ſo much taken notice of, that he was of general eſtimation, and belov'd by all; but ſo much in the friendſhip of *Ireton*, under whom he had the Command of a Troop of Horſe, that no Man was ſo much in credit with him. By the time of the Murther of the King he was ſo much improv'd in Age and Underſtanding, that by that horrible and impious Murther, and by the information and advice of ſober Men in his converſation, he grew into ſo great a deteſtation of all that People, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own Reputation, by taking vengeance of thoſe who had couſen'd and miſled him: and in order thereunto, aſſoon as the Marquis of *Ormond* reſum'd the Government of *Ireland* again for the King (which was the only place then where any Arms were borne for his Majeſty) captain *Wogan* repair'd thither to him through *Scotland*; and behaved himſelf with ſuch ſignal Valour, that the Marquis of *Ormond* gave him the Command of his own Guards, and every Man the Teſtimony of deſerving it. He came over with the Marquis into *France*; and being reſtleſs to be in Action, no ſooner heard of *Middleton*'s being arriv'd in *Scotland*, than he reſolv'd to find himſelf with him;

and

and immediately asked the King's leave not only for himself, but for as many of the young Men about the Court as he could perswade to go with him; declaring to his Majesty, "That he resolv'd to pass through *England*. The King, who had much Grace for him, diswaded him from the Undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his Majesty, nor the Marquis of *Ormond*, could divert him; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his Inclinations: and there was no news so much talked of in the Court, as that Captain *Wogan* would go into *England*, and from thence march into *Scotland* to General *Middleton*; and many young Gentlemen, and others who were in *Paris*, listed themselves with him for the Expedition. He went then to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, during the time of the King's stay in *France*, exceuted the Office of Secretary of State, to desire the dispatch of such Passes, Letters, and Commissions, as were necessary for the Affair he had in hand. The Chancellor had much kindness for him, and having heard of his design by the common talk of the Court, and from the free discourses of some of those who resolv'd to go with him, represented "The danger of the "enterprise to himself, and the dishonour that would reflect "upon the King, for suffering Men under his Pass, and with "his Commission, to expose themselves to inevitable ruin: "that it was now the discourse of the Town, and would "without doubt be known in *England* and to *Cromwell*, be-"fore he and his Friends could get thither, so that it was "likely they would be apprehended the first minute they set "their foot on Shore; and how much his own particular Per-"son was more liable to danger than other Mens he knew "well; and, upon the whole matter, very earnestly diswaded him from proceeding farther.

He answer'd most of the particular consideration with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reason (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the Chancellor expresly refused to make his Dispatches, till he could speak with the King; "With whom, he said, he "would do the best he could to perswade his Majesty to "hinder his Journey; with which the Captain was provok'd to so great passion, that he broke into tears, and besought him not to diswade the King; and seem'd so much transported with the resolution of the Adventure, as if he would not outlive the disappointment. This passion so far prevail'd with the King, that he caused all his dispatches to be made, and deliver'd to him. And the very next day He and his Companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of *Paris* together, and took Post for *Calais*.

They

THEY landed at *Dover*, continued their Journey to *London*, and walked the Town; ſtay'd there above three Weeks, till they had bought Horſes, which they quarter'd at Common Inns, and liſted Men enough of their Friends and Acquaintance to proſecute their purpoſe. And then they appointed their Rendezvous at *Barnet*, marched out of *London*, as *Cromwell's* Soldiers, and from *Barnet* were full fourſcore Horſe well Armed, and appointed, and Quarter'd that Night at St *Albans*, and from thence, by eaſy Journies, but out of the Common Roads, marched ſafely into *Scotland*; beat up ſome Quarters which lay in their way, and without any miſadventure joyn'd *Middleton* in the High-lands; where poor *Wogan*, after many brave Actions perform'd there, receiv'd upon a Party, an ordinary fleſh wound; which for want of a good Surgeon proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of *Middleton*, and all who knew him. Many of the Troopers when they could ſtay no longer there, found their way again through *England*, and return'd to the King.

IN the diſtreſs which the King ſuffer'd during his abode in *France*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's part was the moſt uneaſy and grievous. For though all who were angry with Him, were as angry with the Marquis of *Ormond*, who liv'd in great Friendſhip with him, and was in the ſame truſt with the King in all his Counſels which were reſerv'd from others; yet the Marquiſs's Quality, and the great Services he had perform'd, and the great ſufferings he underwent for the Crown, made him above all their exceptions: and they believ'd his averſion from all their Devices to make marriages, and to traffick in Religion, proceeded moſt from the credit the other had with him. And the Queen's diſpleaſure grew ſo notorious againſt the Chancellor, that after he found by degrees that ſhe would not ſpeak to him, nor take any notice of him when ſhe ſaw him, he forbore at laſt coming in her preſence; and for many Months did not ſee her face, though he had the honour to lodge in the ſame Houſe, the Palace Royal, where both their Majeſties kept their Courts; which encouraged all who deſired to ingratiate themſelves with her Majeſty, to expreſs a great prejudice to the Chancellor, at leaſt to withdraw from his converſation: and the Queen was not reſerv'd in declaring, that ſhe did exceedingly deſire to remove him from the King; which nothing kept him from deſiring alſo, in ſo uncomfortable a condition, but the conſcience of his duty, and the confidence his Majeſty had in his fidelity.

The Queen's diſpleaſure againſt the Chancellor of the Exchequer in France.

THIS diſinclination towards him produced, at one and the ſame time, a contrivance of an odd Nature, and a Union between two ſeemingly irreconcileable Factions, the Papiſts and the Presbyterians: which was diſcover'd to the King by

a false brother, before the Chancellor had any intimation of it. The Lord *Balcarris*, with Dr *Frazier*, and some other *Scots* about the Court, thought themselves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the Presbyterians; and caused a Petition to be prepared, in which they set out, "That the "Presbyterian Party had great Affections to serve his Majes- "ty, and much power to do it; and that they had many Pro- "positions, and Advices to offer to his Majesty for the Ad- "vancement thereof: but that they were discouraged, and "hindred from offering the same, by reason that his Majesty "entrusted his whole Affairs to the Chancellor of the Exche- "quer; who was an old known and declared Enemy to all "their Party; in whom they could repose no trust: and "therefore they besought his Majesty, that he might be re- "mov'd from his Council, at least not be suffer'd to be privy "to any thing that should be proposed by Them; and they "should then make it appear how ready, and how able they "were in a very short time to advance his Majesty's Affairs.

A Petition intended of the Scotish Presbyterians by Balcarris and Frazier, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be remov'd.

ANOTHER Petition was prepared in the name of his Roman Catholick Subjects; which said, "That all his Majesty's "Party which had adher'd to him, were now totally suppres- "sed; and had, for the most part, compounded with his Ene- "mies, and submitted to their Government: that the Church "Lands were all sold, and the Bishops dead, except very few, "who durst not exercise their Function: so that he could ex- "pect no more aid from any who were concern'd to support "the Government of the Church as it had been formerly esta- "blished; that by the defeat of Duke *Hamilton*'s Party first, "and then by his Majesty's ill success at *Worcester*, and the to- "tal reduction of the Kingdom of *Scotland* afterwards by *Crom- "well*, his Majesty might conclude what greater aid he was "to expect from the Presbyterian Party. Nothing therefore "remain'd to him of hope for Restoration, but from the "affection of his Roman Catholick Subjects; who, as they "would never be wanting as to their Persons, and their Estates "which were left, so they had hope to draw from the Catho- "lick Princes, and the Pope himself, such considerable assi- "stance both in Men and Money, that his Majesty should "owe his Restitution, under the Blessing of God, to the sole "power and assistance of the Catholicks. But they had great "reason to fear, that all these hopes would be obstructed and "render'd of no use, not only by there being no Person about "his Majesty in whom the Catholicks could have any confi- "dence, but by reason that the Person most trusted by him, "and through whose hands all Letters and Dispatches must "pass, is a known Enemy to all Catholicks; and therefore "they besought his Majesty, that that Person, the Chancellor

And of the Roman Catholicks also, against him.

"of

"of the Exchequer, might be removed from him; where-"upon he should find great benefit to accrue to his Service. It was concluded amongst them, that when these two Petitions should be weigh'd and consider'd, the Queen would easily convince his Majesty, that a Person who was so odious to all the Roman Catholicks, from whose Affections his Majesty had most reason to promise himself relief, and to all the Protestants who could contribute to his assistance or subsistence, could not be fit to be continued in any Trust about him.

WHEN matters were thus adjusted, which were the longer in preparation, because the Persons concern'd could not, without suspicion and scandal, meet together, but were to be treated with by Persons mutually employ'd, one Mr *Wal-singham*, a Person very well known to all Men who at that time knew the Palace Royal, who had been emyloyed in the affair, came to the King, and, whether out of ingenuity, and dislike of so foul a combination, or as he thought the discovery would be grateful to his Majesty, informed him of the whole Intrigue, and gave a Copy of the Petitions to the King; who shew'd them to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and inform'd them of the whole design. And from this time his Majesty made himself very merry with it, and spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the Queen was present; and asked pleasantly, "When the two Petitions "would be brought against the Chancellor of the Exche-"quer? which being quickly known to some of the Persons engaged in the prosecution, they gave it over, and thought not fit to proceed any farther in it; though both Parties continued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find any ease or quiet by their giving over that design, their Animosities against him still breaking out one after another, as long as the King remain'd in *France*; the Queen taking all occasions to complain to the Queen Regent of the King's unkindness, that she might impute all that she disliked to the Chancellor; and the Queen Mother of *France* was like to be very tender in a point that so much concern'd her self, that any Man should dare to interpose between the Mother and the Son.

The design discover'd by one Mr Walsingham, to the King; which quash'd them both.

THERE was an accident fell out, that administer'd some argument to make those Complaints appear more reasonable. The Cardinal *de Retz* had always expressed great civilities towards the King, and a desire to serve him; and upon some occasional conference between them, the Cardinal ask'd the King "Whether he had made any attempt to draw any Assi-"stance from the Pope, and whether he thought that nothing "might be done that way to his advantage? The King told him, "Nothing had been attempted that way; and that He

A discourse of the King with Cardinal de Retz.

"was better able to judge, whether the Pope was like to do "any thing for a Man of his Faith. The Cardinal ſmiling, ſaid, "He had no thought of ſpeaking of his Faith; yet in ſhort, he ſpoke to him like a wiſe and honeſt Man; "That if "any Overtures were made him of the change of his Religi- "on, he muſt tell his Majeſty, it becomes him as a Cardinal "to wiſh his Majeſty a Catholick for the ſaving his Soul; but "he muſt declare too, that if he did change his Religion, he "would never be reſtored to his Kingdoms. But he ſaid, "He "did believe (though the Pope was old, and much decay'd in his generoſity; for *Innocent* the 10th was then living) "That "if ſome proper Application was made to the Princes of *Ita-* "*ly*, and to the Pope himſelf, though there would not be got- "ten wherewithal to raiſe and maintain Armies, there might "be ſomewhat conſiderable obtain'd for his more pleaſant "Support, wherever he ſhould chooſe to retide. He ſaid "He "had himſelf ſome Alliance with the great Duke, and in- "tereſt in other Courts, and in *Rome* it ſelf, and if his Majeſty "would give him leave, and truſt his diſcretion, he would "write in ſuch manner in his own Name to ſome of his "Friends, as ſhould not be of any prejudice to his Majeſty if "it brought him no convenience. The King had reaſon to acknowledge the obligition, and to leave it to his own wiſ- dom, what he would do. In the concluſion of the diſcourſe, the Cardinal ask'd his Majeſty a queſtion or two of matter of fact which he could not anſwer; but told him, "He would "give a punctual information of it the next day in a Letter: which the Cardinal deſired might be aſſoon as his Majeſty thought fit, becauſe he would, upon the receipt of it, make his diſpatches into *Italy*. The particular things being out of the King's Memory, aſſoon as he return'd, he ask'd the Chan- cellor of the Exchequer concerning them; and having re- ceiv'd a punctual Account from him, his Majeſty writ a Let- ter the next day to the Cardinal, and gave him information as to thoſe particulars. Within very few days after this, the Car- dinal coming one day to the *Louvre* to ſee the Queen Mo- ther, he was arreſted by the Captain of the Guard, and ſent Priſoner to the *Baſtile*; and in one of his Pockets, which they ſearch'd, that Letter the King had ſent to him was found, and deliver'd to the Queen Regent; who preſently imparted it to the Queen of *England*; and after they had made themſelves merry with ſome improprieties in the *French*, the King ha- ving, for the ſecrecy, not conſulted with any Body, they diſco- ver'd ſome purpoſe of applying to the Pope, and to other Ca- tholick Princes; and that his Majeſty ſhould enter upon any ſuch Counſel, without firſt conſulting with the Queen his Mo- ther, could proceed only from the inſtigation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Cardinal de Retz ſent to the Baſtile.

HER

HER Majesty with a very great proportion of sharpness, reproach'd the King for his Neglect, and gave him his Letter. The King was exceedingly sensible of the Little respect the Queen Mother had shew'd towards him, in communicating his Letter in that manner to his Mother; and expostulated with her for it; and took that occasion to enlarge more upon the injustice of his Mother's complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the Queen Mother, who was in truth a very worthy Lady, shew'd much more kindness to the King. And a little time after, there being a Masque at the Court that the King liked very well, he perswaded the Chancellor to see it; and vouchsafed, the next Night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the Marquis of *Ormond* and Him next the Seat where all their Majesties were to sit. And when they enter'd, the Queen Regent ask'd, "Who that fat Man was "who sat by the Marquis of *Ormond*? The King told her aloud, "That it was the naughty Man who did all the Mischief, "and set him against his Mother: at which the Queen her self was little less disorder'd than the Chancellor was. But they within hearing laugh'd so much, that the Queen was not displeased; and somewhat was spoken to his Advantage, whom few thought to deserve the Reproach.

Prince Rupert with his Fleet arrives at Nantes.

AT this time the King was inform'd by the *French* Court, "That Prince *Rupert*, who had been so long absent, having "gone with the Fleet from *Holland* before the Murther of the "late King, and had not been heard of in some years, was "now upon the Coast of *France*, and soon after at *Nantes* "in the Province of *Britain*, with the *Swallow*, a Ship of the King's, and with three or four other Ships; and that the *Con-* "*stant Reformation*, another Ship of the King's, in which Prince "*Maurice* had been; was cast away in the *Indies* near two "years before; and that Prince *Rupert* himself was return'd "with very ill health. The King sent presently to welcome him, and to invite him to *Paris* to attend his health; and his Majesty presumed that, by the Arrival of this Fleet, which he thought must be very rich, he should receive some Money, that would enable him to remove out of *France*; of which He was as weary as It was of Him.

GREAT Expectations was raised in the *English* Court, that there would be some notable change upon the Arrival of this Prince; and though he had professed much kindness to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he parted from *Holland*, yet there was hope that he would not appear now his Friend, the rather for that he had left *Ireland* with some declared unkindness towards the Marquis of *Ormond*. And all Men knew that the Atturney General, who was unsatisfied with every body, would have most influence upon that Prince; and that

his Highneſs could not be without credit enough with the King to introduce him into buſineſs; which they thought would at leaſt leſſen the Chancellor. In order to which, it was no ſooner known that Prince *Rupert* was landed in *France*, but the Lord *Jermyn* viſited, and made great court to Sr *Edward Herbert*; between whom and him there had been greater ſhew of Animoſity than between any two of the Nation who were beyond the Seas, they having for ſome years ſeldom ſpoken to, never well of, each other. And *Herbert* who was of a rough and proud nature, had declared publickly, "That he would have no Friendſhip with any Man who "believ'd the other to be an honeſt Man. Between theſe two a great friendſhip is ſuddainly made; and the Atturney is every day with the Queen, who had ſhew'd a greater Averſion from him than from any Man, not only upon the buſineſs of the Duke of *York*, but upon many other Occaſions. But now ſhe commended him to the King, "As a wiſe Man, of great Ex- "perience, and of great Intereſt in *England*.

The Queen Mother moves the King to make Herbert Lord Keeper; and he is made.

FROM the death of Sr *Richard Lane*, who had been Keeper of the Great Seal under his late Majeſty, there had not only been no Officer in that place, but from the defeat at *Worceſter*, the King had been without any Great Seal, it having been there loſt. But he had lately imploy'd a Graver to prepare a Great Seal; which he kept himſelf, not intending to confer that Office, whiſt he remain'd abroad. But now the Queen preſſed the King very earneſtly, to make the Atturney General Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; which was a promotion very natural, Men ordinarily riſing from the one Office to the other. The King knew the Man very well, and had neither eſteem nor kindneſs for him; yet he well foreſaw, that when Prince *Rupert* came to him, he ſhould be preſſed both by his Mother and Him ſo importunately, that he ſhould not with any eaſe be able to refuſe it. Then he believ'd that, if the Man himſelf were in good humour, he would be of great uſe in compoſing any ill humour that ſhould ariſe in the Prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his Majeſty thought it beſt (ſince no body diſſwaded him from the Thing) to oblige him frankly himſelf before the Prince came; and ſo call'd him to his Council, and made him Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; with which he ſeem'd wonderfully delighted; and for ſome time liv'd well towards every Body; though, as to any thing of buſineſs, he appear'd only in his old excellent faculty of raiſing doubts, and objecting againſt any thing that was propoſed, and propoſing nothing himſelf; which was a temper of Underſtanding he could not rectify, and, in the preſent State of Affairs, did leſs miſchief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

BE-

BEFORE the Prince came to *Paris* he gave the King such an account, as made it evident that his Majesty was to expect no Money: "That what Treasure had been gotten together, "which he confessed, had amounted to great value, had been "all lost in the Ship in which himself was (that sprung a plank in the *Indies*, when his Highness was miraculously preserv'd) "and, in the Boat, carried to another Ship, when that the "*Antelope*, with all the Men, and all that had been gotten "sunk in the Sea; and that much of the other purchase had "been likewise cast away in the Ship in which his Brother "perish'd; which was after his own misfortune: So that all that was brought into *Nantes*, would scarce pay off the Seamen, and discharge some debts at *Toulon*, which the Prince had contracted at his former being there, during the time that the King had been in *Holland*: And "That the Ships "were all so eaten with Worms, even the *Swallow* it self, that "there was no possibility of setting them out again to Sea. This was all the Account the King could receive of that whole Affair, when the Prince himself came to *Paris*; with which though the King was not satisfied, yet he knew not how to remedy it, the Prince taking it very ill that any Account should be required of Him; and the Keeper quickly perswaded his Highness, that it was only the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Influence, that disposed the King with so much strictness to examine his Account.

Prince Rupert gives an ill Account of his Fleet.

THERE was another design now set on foot, by which they concluded they should sufficiently mortify the Chancellor; who, they thought, had still too much Credit with his Master. When the King went into *Scotland*, Mr *Robert Long*, who had been mention'd before, was Secretary of State; who, having been always a Creature of the Queen's, and dependent upon the Lord *Jermyn*, had so behaved himself towards them, during his short stay in *Scotland* (for he was one of those who was remov'd from the King there, and sent out of that Kingdom) that when his Majesty return'd from *Worcester* to *Paris*, they would by no means suffer that he should wait upon his Majesty; and accused him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty, and amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be proved, "That it was impossible for any "Man to serve the King honestly, and to preserve the good "opinion of the Queen, and keep the Lord *Jermyn*'s favour. The truth is, that Gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the King did not believe him faultless; and therefore was contented to satisfy his Mother, and would not permit him to execute his Office, or to attend in his Councils. Whereupon he left the Court, and liv'd privately at *Roan*; which was the reason that the Chancellor had

An Affair concerning Mr Long; who petitions the King to be restored to the Secretary's Place.

had been commanded to execute that place, which intitled him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the Lord *Fermyn* and the Keeper, the last of whom had in all times inveigh'd against Mr *Long*'s want of Fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a better expedient found out to lessen the Chancellor's Credit, than by restoring *Long* to the execution of the Secretary's Function. Whereupon they sent for him, and advised him to prepare a Petition to the King, "That he might be again restored to his Office and Attendance, "or that he might be charged with his Crimes, and be far- "ther punish'd, if he did not clear himself, and appear inno- "cent. This Petition was presented to the King, when he was in Council, by the Queen; who came thither only for that purpose, and desired that it might be read; which being done, the King was surprised, having not in the least receiv'd any notice of it; and said, "That her Majesty was the prin- "cipal Cause that induced his Majesty to remove him from "his place, and she then believ'd that he was not fit for "the Trust. She said, "She had now a better opinion of "him, and that she had been misinform'd. The King thought "it unfit to receive a Person into so near a Trust, against whose Fidelity there had been such publick exceptions; and his Majesty knew that few of his Friends in *England* would correspond with him; and therefore would not be perswaded to restore him. This was again put all upon the Chancellor's Account, and the influence He had upon the King.

is refused by the King.

whereupon Mr Long accuses the Chancellor of the Exchequer of his having been in England, and conversed with Cromwell.

THEREUPON Mr *Long* accused the Chancellor of having betray'd the King; and undertook to prove that he had been over in *England*, and had private conference with *Cromwell*: which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laugh'd at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the Chancellor pressed, "That a day might be appointed for him to produce "his proof: And at that day, the Queen came again to the Council, that she might be present at the Charge. There Mr *Long* produced *Massonet*, a Man who had serv'd him, and afterwards been an Under-Clerk for writing Letters and Commissions, during the time of the King's being in *Scotland*, and had been taken Prisoner at *Worcester*; and, being released with the rest of the King's Servants, had been employ'd, from the time of the King's Return, in the same Service under the Chancellor; the Man having, before the Troubles, taught the King, and the Duke of *York*, and the rest of the King's Children to write, being indeed the best Writer, for the fairness of the hand, of any Man in that time.

The business heard in Council:

Massonet is produced as a hearsay witness of it.

MASSONET said, "That after his release from his Impri- "sonment, and whilst he staid in *London*, he spoke with a "Maid, who had formerly serv'd him, that knew the Chan- "cellor

"cellor very well, and who assured him, that one evening "she had seen the Chancellor go into *Cromwell*'s Chamber at "*White-Hall*; and after he had been shut up with him some "hours, she saw him conducted out again. And Mr *Long* desired time, that he might send over for this Woman, who should appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse, the Chancellor said, "He would make no other defence, than "that there were Persons then in the Town, who, he was "confident, would avow that they had seen him once every "day, from the time he return'd from *Spain* to the day on "which he attended his Majesty at *Paris*; as indeed there were; and when he had said so, he offer'd to go out of the Room; which the King would not have him to do. But he told his Majesty, "That it was the course; and that he ought "not to be present at the Debate that was to concern himself; and the Keeper, with some warmth, said "It was true; and so he retired to his own Chamber. The Lord *Jermyn*, assoon as he was gone, said, "He never thought the Accusation had "any thing of probability in it; and that he believ'd the "Chancellor a very honest Man; but the use that he thought "ought to be made of this Calumny, was, that it appear'd "that an honest and innocent Man might be calumniated, as "he thought Mr *Long* had likewise been; and therefore they "ought both to be clear'd. The Keeper said, "He saw not "ground enough to condemn the Chancellor; but he saw no "cause neither to declare him innocent: that there was one "Witness which declared only what he had heard; but that "he undertook also to produce the Witness her self if he "might have time; which in justice could not be denied; "and therefore he proposed, that a competent time might be "given to Mr *Long* to make out his proof; and that in the "mean time the Chancellor might not repair to the Council: with which Proposition the King was so offended, that, with much warmth, he said, "He discern'd well the design; and "that it was so false and wicked a Charge, that, if he had no "other exception against Mr *Long* than this foul and foolish "Accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him. And therefore he presently sent for the Chancellor, and as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, "He was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more "Justice than to declare him innocent; which he did do, and commanded the Clerk of the Council to draw up a full Order for his Vindication, which his Majesty himself would sign.

The King acquits the Chancellor.

The Keeper accuses the Chancellor of the Exchequer of having spoken ill of the King.

THE Keeper could not contain himself from appearing very much troubled: and said, "If what he heard from a Person of "honour who, he thought, would justify it, were true, the "Chan-

"Chancellor had aſperſed the King in ſuch a manner, and ſo "much reviled his Majeſty in point of his Honour, that he "was not fit to ſit there. The Chancellor was wonderfully ſurpriſed with the Charge; and humbly beſought his Majeſty, "That the Lord Keeper might produce his Author, or be "look'd upon as the Contriver of the Scandal. The Keeper anſwer'd, "That if his Majeſty would appoint an hour the next "day for the Council to meet, he would produce the Perſon "who, he was confident, would juſtify all he had ſaid.

The Lord Gerard produced to prove it.

THE next day, the King being ſate in Council, the Keeper deſir'd that the Lord *Gerard* might be called in; who preſently appear'd; and being ask'd, "Whether he had at any time heard "the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſpeak ill of the King? he anſwer'd, Yes. And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had paſſed between the Chancellor and Him a year before, when the King lay at *Chantilly*; "That one day, after "dinner, the King took the Air, and being in the Field his "Majeſty alighted out of his Coach, and took his Horſe, with "other of the Lords to ride into the next Field to ſee a Dog "ſet Partridge; and that he, the Lord *Gerard*, and the Chan-"cellor remain'd in the Coach, when he enter'd into diſcourſe "of the King's condition; and ſaid, that he thought his Ma-"jeſty was not active enough, nor did think of his buſineſs; "and, that the Chancellor, who was known to have credit "with him, ought to adviſe him to be active, for his Honour "and his Intereſt; otherwiſe his Friends would fall from him. "But, that it was generally believ'd, that he, the Chancellor, "had no mind that his Majeſty ſhould put himſelf into "Action, but was rather for ſitting ſtill; and therefore it con-"cern'd him, for his own juſtification, to perſwade the King "to be Active, and to leave *France*, where he could not but "obſerve that every body was weary of him. To all which "the Chancellor took great pains to purge himſelf from be-"ing in the fault; and ſaid, that no body could think that he "could take delight to ſtay in a place where he was ſo ill "uſed; but laid all the fault upon the King; who, he ſaid, was "indiſpoſed to buſineſs, and took too much delight in plea-"ſures, and did not love to take pains; for which he was "heartily ſorry, but could not help it; which *Gerard* ſaid, "he thought was a great reproach and ſcandal upon the King, "from a Man ſo obliged and truſted, who ought not to aſperſe "his Maſter in that manner.

The Chancellor's Defence.

THE Chancellor was a little out of countenance; and ſaid, "He did not expect that Accuſation from any body, leſs that "the Lord *Gerard* ſhould diſcover any private diſcourſe that "had paſſed a year before between them two, and which ap-"pear'd by his relation to have been introduced by himſelf,

"and

"and by his own freedom: that whoſoever believ,d that he "had a mind to traduce the King, would never believe that "he would have choſen the Lord *Gerard*, who was known "to be none of his Friend, to have communicated it to. He ſaid, "He did very well remember, that the Lord *Gerard* did, "at that time when they two remain'd alone in the Coach, "very paſſionately cenſure the King's not being Active, and "blamed him, the Chancellor, for not perſwading his Maje- "ſty to put himſelf into Action; and that He was generally "believ'd to be in the fault: upon which he had ask'd him, "what he did intend by being Active, and what that Action "was, and where, to which he wiſh'd the King ſhould be per- "ſwaded? He anſwer'd, with an increaſe of paſſion, and ad- "dition of Oaths, that rather than ſit ſtill in *France*, his Ma- "jeſty ought to go to every Court in *Chriſtendom*; that inſtead "of ſending an Embaſſadour who was not fit for any Buſineſs, "he ſhould have gone himſelf to the Diet at *Ratisbone*, and "ſollicited his own buſineſs: which would have been more "effectual; and that, if he could not find any other way to "put himſelf into Action, he ought to go into the High- "lands of *Scotland* to *Middleton*, and there try his Fortune. To all which the Chancellor ſaid, he did remember that he replied, "He believ'd the King was indiſpoſed to any of that "Action he propoſed: and though he did not believe, that he "had uſed thoſe Expreſſions, of the King's delighting in plea- "ſures, and not loving buſineſs ſo well as he ought to do, if "the Lord *Gerard* would poſitively affirm he had, he would "rather confeſs it, and ſubmit himſelf to his Maieſty's judg- "ment, if he thought ſuch words proceeded from any malice "in his heart towards him, than, by denying it, continue the "Debate: And then he offer'd to retire; which the King forbid him to do; upon which the Keeper was very angry; and ſaid, "The words amounted to an Offence of a high Na- "ture; and that he was ſorry his Majeſty was no more ſenſi- "ble of them: that for any Man, eſpecially a Councellor, and "a Man in ſo near truſt, to accuſe his Maſter of not loving his "buſineſs, and being inclined to pleaſures, was to do all he "could to perſwade all men to forſake him; and proceeding with his uſual warmth and poſitiveneſs, the King interrupted him; and ſaid, "He did really believe the Chancellor had uſed "thoſe very words, becauſe he had often ſaid That, and much "more to himſelf; which he had never taken ill: that he "did really believe that he was himſelf in a fault, and did not "enough delight in his buſineſs; which was not very plea- "ſant; but he did not know that ſuch putting himſelf in- "to Action, which was the common word, as the Lord "*Gerard* adviſed, was like to be attended with thoſe benefits,

"which

"which, he was confident, he wish'd. In fine, he declared, "he was very well satisfied in the Chancellor's Affection, and "took nothing ill that he had said; and directed the Clerk "of the Council to enter such his Majesty's Declaration in his "Book; with which both the Keeper and the Lord *Gerard* were very ill satisfied. But from that time there were no farther publick attempts against the Chancellor, during the time of his Majesty's abode in *France*. But it may not be unseasonable to insert in this place, that after the King's return into *England*, there came the Woman to the Chancellor who had been carried over to *Roan* by *Massonet*, and importuned by Mr *Long* to testify that she had seen the Chancellor with *Cromwell*; for which she should have a present liberal reward in Money from him, and a good Service at *Paris*; which when the Woman refused to do, he gave her Money for her Journey back, and so she return'd: of which the Chancellor inform'd the King. But Mr *Long* himself coming at the same time to him, and making great Acknowledgments, and asking pardon, the Chancellor frankly remitted the injury; which Mr *Long* seem'd to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

THE King wearied with these domestick Vexations, as well as with the uneasiness of his Entertainment, and the change he every day discover'd in the countenance of the *French* Court to him, grew very impatient to leave *France*; and though he was totally disappointed of the expectation he had to receive Money by the Return of Prince *Rupert* with that Fleet, he hoped that when the Prizes should be sold, and all the Seamen discharg'd, and Prince *Rupert* be satisfied his demands, which were very large, there would be still left the Ships, and Ordnance and Tackling, which (though they requir'd great Charge to be fitted out again to Sea, yet) if sold, he presumed, would yield a good Sum of Money to enable him to remove, and support him some time after he was remov'd; for there were, besides the Ship it self, fifty good Brass Guns on board the *Swallow*, which were very valuable. His Majesty therefore writ to Prince *Rupert* (who was return'd to *Nantes* to discharge some Sea-men, who still remain'd, and to sell the rest of the Prizes) "That he should find some good Chapmen "to buy the Ships, and Ordnance, and Tackle, at the value "they were worth: which was no sooner known at *Nantes*, than there appear'd Chapmen enough, besides the Marshal of *Melleray*, who being Governour of that place, and of the Province, had much Money always by him to lay out on such occasions. And the Prince writ the King word, "That he had "then a good Chapman, who would pay well for the Brass "Cannon; and that he should put off all the rest at good rates.

But

But he writ again the next Week, "That, when he had even "finiſh'd the contract for the Braſs Cannon, there came an "Order from the Court, that no Man ſhould preſume to buy "the Braſs Cannon, and to Marſhal *Malleray* to take care that "they were not carried out of that Port.

THE Prince apprehended, that this unexpected reſtraint proceeded from ſome claim and demand from *Cromwell*; and then expected, that it would likewiſe relate to the *Swallow* it ſelf, if not to the other Ships; and the Marſhal contributed to, and cheriſh'd this Jealouſy, that the better Markets might be made of all the reſt; himſelf being always a ſharer with the Merchants, who made any purchaſes of that kind: as he had, from the time that his Highneſs firſt came into that Port, always inſinuated into him in confidence, and under great good will and truſt, "That he ſhould uſe all expedition in the "ſale of the Prizes, leſt either *Cromwell* ſhould demand the "whole (which he much doubted) or that the Merchants, "Owners of the Goods, ſhould upon the hearing where they "were, ſend and arreſt the ſaid Ships and Goods, and demand "reſtitution to be made of them in a courſe of Juſtice; in "either of which caſes, he ſaid "He did not know, conſider-"ing how things ſtood with *England*, what the Court would "determine: though, he promiſed, he would extend his Au-"thority to ſerve the Prince, as far as he could with his own "ſafety; and defer the publiſhing and execution of any Or-"ders he ſhould receive, till the Prince might facilitate the "diſpatch: and by this kind Advice very good Bargains had been made for thoſe Goods which had been ſold; of which the Marſhal had an Account to his own deſire.

BUT when, upon this unwelcome Advertiſement, the King made his Addreſs to the Cardinal to revoke this Order; and, as the beſt reaſon to oblidge him to gratify him, told him, "That the Money, which ſhould be raiſed upon the Sale of "thoſe Cannon, was the only means he had to remove him-"ſelf out of *France*, which he intended ſhortly to do, and "to go to the hither parts of *Germany*, and that his Siſter, the "Princeſs of *Orange*, and He, had ſome thoughts of finding "themſelves together, in the beginning of the Summer, at "the *Spaw*: which indeed had newly enter'd into the King's conſideration, and had been entertain'd by the Princeſs Royal; the Cardinal, being well pleaſed with the reaſon, told his Ma-jeſty, "That this Order was not newly made, but had been "very Ancient, that no Merchants or any private Subjects, "ſhould buy any Braſs Ordnance in any Port, leſt ill uſe "might be made of them; and that the Order was not now "reviv'd with any purpoſe to bring any perjudice to his Ma-"jeſty; who ſhould be no loſer by the reſtraint; for that him-

"ſelf

"self would buy the Ordnance, and give as much for them as "they were worth; in order to which, he would forthwith "send an Agent to *Nantes* to see the Cannon; and, upon "conference with a Person employ'd by the King, they two "should agree upon the price, and then the Money should be "all paid together to his Majesty in *Paris*: intimating "That "he would dispute the matter afterwards with *Cromwell*; as if he knew, or foresaw, that he would make some demand.

IT was well for the King that this condition was made for the payment of this Money in *Paris*; for of all the Money paid or receiv'd at *Nantes*, as well for the Ships, Tackle, and Ordnance, as for the Prize-Goods, not one penny ever came to the King's hands, or to his use, but what he receiv'd at *Paris* from the Cardinal for the Brass Guns which were upon the *Swallow*; for the valuing whereof the King sent one thither to treat with the Officer of the Cardinal. All the rest was disposed, as well as receiv'd, by Prince *Rupert*; who when he return'd to *Paris*, gave his Majesty a confused Account, and averr'd, "That the expences had been so great, "that there was not only no Money remaining in his hands, "but that there was a debt still due to a Merchant; which he desired his Majesty to promise to satisfy.

The King resolves to go into Germany.

THE King's resolution to go into *Germany* was very grateful to every body, more from the weariness they had of *France*, than from the foresight of any benefit and adavantage that was like to accrue by the remove. But his Majesty, who needed no spurs for that Journey, was the more disposed to it by the extraordinary importunity of his Friends in *England*; who observing the strict correspondence that was between the Cardinal and *Cromwell*, and knowing that the Allyance between them was very near concluded, and being inform'd that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the King, did really apprehend that his Majesty's Person might be given up; and thereupon they sent *Harry Seymour*, who, being of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, and having his leave to attend his own Affairs in *England*, they well knew would be believ'd by the King, and being addressed only to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he might have opportunity to speak with the King privately and undiscover'd, and return again with security, as he, and divers Messengers of that kind, frequently did. He was sent by the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, with the privity of those few who were trusted by them, "To be very importunate with the King, "that he would remove out of *France*; and to communicate "to his Majesty all which they receiv'd from Persons who "were admitted into many of the secret resolutions, and pur-

Mr Harry Seymour sent to the King from his Friends in England.

"poses

"poſes of *Cromwell*. And becauſe they well knew in what ſtreights the King was for Money, they found ſome means at that time to ſend him a Supply of about three thouſand pounds; which the King receiv'd, and kept with great ſecrecy. They ſent him word likewiſe, "That wherever he "ſhould chooſe to reſide out of *France*, they were confident "his Servants in *England*, under what perſecution ſoever they "lay, would ſend him ſome ſupply: but whilſt he remain'd "in *France*, no body would be prevail'd with to ſend to him. The King was glad to be confirm'd in the reſolution he had taken, by his Friends advice; and that they had in ſome degree enabled him to proſecute it; which was the more valuable, becauſe it was known to none. Yet his Debts were ſo great in *Paris*, and the Servants who were to attend him in ſo ill a condition, and ſo without all conveniences for a Journey, that, if the Cardinal, over and above the Money for the Cannon (which the King did not deſire to receive till the laſt) did not take care for the payment of all the Arrears, which were due upon the Aſſignment they had made to him, he ſhould not be able to make his Journey.

BUT in this he receiv'd ſome eaſe quickly; for when the Cardinal was ſatisfied, that his Majeſty had a full reſolution to be gone, which he ſtill doubted, till he heard from *Holland* that the Princeſs Royal did really provide for her Journey to the *Spaw*, he did let the King know, "That, againſt "the time that his Majeſty appointed his remove, his Ar- "rears ſhould be either entirely paid, or ſo much of his Debts "ſecured to his Creditors, as ſhould well ſatisfy them; and "the reſt ſhould be paid to his Receiver for the charge of "the Journey; and likewiſe aſſured his Majeſty, "That, for "the future, the monthly Aſſignation ſhould be punctually "paid to whomſoever his Majeſty would appoint to receive "it. This promiſe was better comply'd with than any other that had been made, till ſome years after, the King thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which will be remember'd in its place.

The Cardinal pays the King all his arrears from France.

ALL things being in this ſtate, the King declared his reſolution to begin his Journey, aſſoon as he could put himſelf into a capacity of moving, upon the receipt of the Money he expected, and all preparations were made for enabling the Family to be ready to wait upon his Majeſty, and for the better regulating, and governing it, when the King ſhould be out of *France*; there having never been any order taken in it whilſt he remain'd there, nor could be, becauſe his Majeſty had always eaten with the Queen, and her Officers had govern'd the expence; ſo that by the failing of receiving Money that was promiſed, and by the Queen's Officers receiving

ceiving all that was paid, to carry on the expence of their Majesty's Table, which the King's Servants durst not enquire into, very few of his Majesty's Servants had receiv'd any wages from the time of his coming from *Worcester* to the remove he was now to make. Nor was it possible now to satisfy them what they might in justice expect, but they were to be contented with such a Proportion as could be spared, and which might enable them, without reproach and scandal to leave *Paris* and attend him. They were all modest in their desires, hoping that they should be better provided for in another place. But now the King met with an obstruction, that he least suspected, from the extraordinary narrowness of the Cardinal's nature, and his over good husbandry in bargaining. The Agent he had sent to *Nantes* to view the Cannon, made so many scruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that spent much time; and at last, offer'd much less than they were worth, and than the other Merchant had offer'd, when the Injunction came that restrain'd him from proceeding. The King knew not what to propose in this. The Cardinal said, "He understood not the price of "Cannon himself, and therefore he had employ'd a Man that "did; and it was reasonable for him to govern himself by "His Conduct; who assured him, that he offer'd as much as "they could reasonably be valued at. It was moved on the King's behalf, "That he would permit others to buy them; "which, he said, "He could not do, because of the King his "Master's restraint; and if any Merchant, or other Person, "should agree for them, *Cromwell* would demand them "wherever they should be found; and there were not many "that would dispute the Right with him. In conclusion, the King was compell'd to refer the matter to himself, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleasure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the Money, all allowance for paying it in Gold, and the like, fitter to be insisted on by the meanest Merchant, than by a Member of the sacred College, who would be esteem'd a Prince of the Church.

The Condition of King Charles the first's Children after their Father's death.

WHILST the King is preparing for his Journey to meet the Princess of *Orange*, it will be fit to look back a little on the condition of the rest of his Brothers and Sisters After that the Princess *Henrietta* had been secretly convey'd from *Oatlands* into *France*, by the Lady *Moreton* her Governess, in the Year forty six; and the Duke of *York*, in the Year forty eight, had made his escape from S^t *James*'s; where He, and the rest of the Royal Family that remain'd in *England*, were under the Care and Tuition of the Earl of *Northumberland*; the Parliament would not suffer, nor did the Earl desire, that the

the reſt ſhould remain longer under his Government. But the other two, the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, were commited to the Counteſs of *Leiceſter*; to whom ſuch an allowance was paid out of the Treaſury, as might well defray their Expences, with that reſpect that was due to their Birth; which was perform'd towards them as long as the King their Father Liv'd. But aſſoon as the King was Murder'd, it was order'd that the Children ſhould be remov'd into the Country, that they might not be the objects of reſpect to draw the Eyes and Application of People towards them. The Allowance was retrench'd, that their Attendants and Servants might be leſſen'd; and order was given, "That they ſhould "be treated without any Addition of Titles, and that they "ſhould ſit at their Meat as the Children of the Family did, "and all at one Table. Whereupon they were remov'd to *Penſhurſt*, a Houſe of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s in *Kent*; where they liv'd under the Tuition of the ſame Counteſs, who obſerv'd the Order of the Parliament with Obedience enough: yet they were carefully look'd to, and treated with as much reſpect as the Lady pretended ſhe durſt pay to them.

THERE, by an Act of Providence, Mr *Lovel*, an honeſt Man, who had been recommended to teach the Earl of *Sunderland*, whoſe Mother was a Daughter of the Houſe of *Leiceſter*, became likewiſe Tutor to the Duke of *Gloceſter*; who was by that means, well taught in that Learning that was fit for his Years, and very well inſtructed in the Principles of Religion, and the Duty that he owed to the King his Brother: all which made the deeper impreſſion in his very pregnant Nature, by what his Memory retain'd of thoſe Inſtructions which the King his Father had, with much fervour, given him before his death. But ſhortly after, the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, were remov'd from the Government of the Counteſs of *Leiceſter*, and ſent into the Iſle of *Wight* to *Carisbrook* Caſtle; where *Mildmay* was Captain; and the Care of them committed to him, with an Aſſignation for their Maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required ſtrictly, "That no Perſon ſhould be permitted to kiſs their hands, and "that they ſhould not be otherwiſe treated than as the Chil-"dren of a Gentleman; which *Mildmay* obſerv'd very exactly and the Duke of *Gloceſter* was not call'd by any other Style than, Mr *Harry*. The Tutor was continued, and ſent thither with him; which pleaſed him very well. And here they remain'd at leaſt two or three Years. The Princeſs died in this place; and, according to the Charity of that time towards *Cromwell*, very many would have it believ'd to be by

Poyson; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether this reproach and suspicion made any impression in the mind of *Cromwell*, or whether he had any jealousy that the Duke of *Glocester*, who was now about twelve years of Age, and a Prince of extraordinary Hopes both from the Comliness and Gracefulness of his Person, and the Vivacity and Vigour of his Wit and Understanding, which made him much spoken of, might, at some time or other, be made use of by the discontented Party of his own Army to give him trouble, or whether he would shew the contempt he had of the Royal Family, by sending another of it into the World to try his Fortune, he did declare one day to the Parliament, "That he was well content that the Son of the late King, who "was then in *Carisbrook* Castle, should have liberty to Transport himself into any part beyond the Seas, as he should "desire: which was at that time much wonder'd at, and not believ'd; and many thought it a presage of a worse inclination; and for some time there was no more speech of it. But notice and advice being sent to the Duke by those who wish'd his Liberty, that he should prosecute the obtaining that Order and Release, He, who desired most to be out of restraint, sent his Tutor, Mr *Lovel*, to *London*, to be advised by Friends what he should do to procure such an Order, and Warrant, as was necessary for his Transportation. And he, by the advice of those who wish'd well to the Affair, did so dextrously sollicite it, that he did not only procure an Order from the Parliament that gave him Liberty to go over the Seas with the Duke, and to require *Mildmay* to permit him to Embark, but likewise five hundred pounds from the Commissioners of the Treasury, which he receiv'd, to defray the Charges and Expences of the Voyage; being left to provide a Ship himself, and being oblig'd to Embrak at the Isle of *Wight*, and not to suffer the Duke to go on Shore in any other part of *England*.

This happen'd in the latter end of the Year 1652; and was so well prosecuted, that, soon after, the King receiv'd advertisement from his Sister in *Holland*, "That the Duke of "*Glocester* was arriv'd there; and would be the next day with "her; which was no sooner known than the Queen very earnestly desired, that he might be presently sent for to *Paris*, that she might see him; which she had never done since he was about a year old; for within such a short time after he was Born, the Troubles were so far advanced, that her Majesty made her Voyage into *Holland*, and from that time had never seen him. The King could not refuse to satisfy his Mother in so reasonable a desire, though he did suspect that there might

might be a farther purpose in that design of seeing him, than was then own'd. And therefore he had dispatched presently a Messenger to the *Hague*, that his Brother might make all possible haste to *Paris*. He was accordingly presently sent for, and came safely to *Paris*, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

Now all Expedition was used to provide for the King's remove, so generally desired of all; and, for the future, the Charge of governing the Expences of the Family, and of payment of the Wages of the Servants, and indeed of issuing out all Monies, as well in Journies as when the Court resided any where, was committed to *Stephen Fox*, a young Man bred under the severe discipline of the Lord *Piercy*, now Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houshold. This *Stephen Fox* was very well qualified with Languages, and all other parts of Clerkship, Honesty, and Discretion, that were necessary for the discharge of such a Trust; and indeed his great industry, Modesty, and Prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the Family, which for so many Years had been under no Government, into very good Order; by which his Majesty in the pinching streights of his Condition, enjoy'd very much ease from the time he left *Paris*.

Mr Stephen Fox admitted to manage the King's Money.

Prince *Rupert* was now return'd from *Nantes*; and finding that he should receive none of the Money the Cardinal was to pay for the Brass Ordnance, and being every day more indispos'd by the Chagrin Humour of the Keeper (who endeavour'd to inflame him against the King, as well as against most other Men, and thought his Highness did not give evidence enough of his concernment and Friendship for him, except he fell out with every Body with whom he was angry) resolv'd to leave the King; wrought upon, no doubt, besides the frowardness of the other Man, by the despair that seem'd to attend the King's Fortune; and told his Majesty, "That he was "resolv'd to look after his own Affairs in *Germany*; and first "to visit his Brother in the *Palatinate*, and require what was "due from him for his Apennage; and then to go to the "Emperour, to receive the Money that was due to him upon "the Treaty of *Munster*; which was to be all paid by the Emperour; from the prosecution of which purpose his Majesty did not dissuade him; and possibly, heard it with more indifferency than the Prince expected; which raised his natural Passion; insomuch, as the day when he took his leave, that no body might imagine that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any relation to, or dependence upon the King, he told his Majesty, "That, if he pleased, he might dispose of "the place of Master of the Horse; in which he had been settled by the late King, and his present Majesty had, to preserve

Prince Rupert leaves the King; and goes into Germany.

Resigns to him the place of Master of the Horse.

ſerve that Office for him, and to take away the pretence the Lord *Piercy* might have to it, by his having had that Office to the Prince of *Wales*, recompenſed Him with the place of Lord Chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the King bore this Reſignation likewiſe from the Prince with the ſame countenance as he had done his firſt Reſolution; and ſo, towards the end of *April*, or the beginning of *May*, his Highneſs left the King, and begun his Journey for the *Palatinate*.

SHORTLY after the Prince was gone, the King begun to think of a day for his own departure, and to make a Liſt of his Servants he intended ſhould wait upon him. He foreſaw that the only end of his Journey was to find ſome place where he might ſecurely attend ſuch a Conjuncture as God Almighty ſhould give him, that might invite him to new Activity, his preſent buſineſs being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to ſay, "That he would provide the beſt he could "for it, by having only ſuch about him as could be quiet. He could not forget the vexation the Lord Keeper had always given him, and how impoſſible it was for him to live eaſily with any body; and ſo, in the making the Liſt of thoſe who were to go with him, he left his Name out; which the Keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the King, and asked him, "Whether he did not intend that "he ſhould wait upon him? His Majeſty told him, No; for "that he reſolv'd to make no uſe of his Great Seal; and there-"fore that he ſhould ſtay at *Paris*, and not put himſelf to the "trouble of ſuch a Journey, which he himſelf intended to "make without the eaſe and benefit of a Coach: which in truth he did, putting his Coach-Horſes in a Waggon, wherein his Bed and Cloaths were carried: nor was he owner of a Coach in ſome years after. The Keeper expoſtulated with him in vain upon the diſhonour that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the Great Seal, and deliver'd it to him; and deſir'd "That he would ſign a Paper, in which "his Majeſty acknowledged, that he had receiv'd again his "Great Seal from him; which the King very willingly ſign'd; and he immediately remov'd his Lodging; and left the Court; and never after ſaw his Majeſty; which did not at all pleaſe the Queen; who was as much troubled that He was to ſtay where She was, as that he did not go with the King.

The Lord Keeper Herbert reſigns his Office to the King.

THE Queen prevailed with the King, at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himſelf to deny her, which was, "That he would leave the Duke of *Glocester* with her; which ſhe asked with ſo much importunity, that, without very much diſobliging her, he could not reſiſt. She deſired him "to conſider in what condition he had been bred till he "came

The Queen prevails with the King to leave the Duke of Glocester with her.

"came into *France*, without Learning either exerciſe or lan-
"guage, or having ever ſeen a Court, or good Company; and
"being now in a place, and at an Age, that he might be in-
"ſtructed in all theſe, to carry him away from all theſe Ad-
"vantages to live in *Germany*, would be interpreted by all the
"world, not only to be want of kindneſs towards his Bro-
"ther, but want of all manner of reſpect to Her. The reaſon-
ableneſs of this diſcourſe, together with the King's utter diſ-
ability to ſupport him in the condition that was fit for him,
would eaſily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that
the purpoſe was to pervert him in his Religion; which when
the Queen had aſſured the King "Was not in her thought, and
"that ſhe would not permit any ſuch attempt to be made, his
Majeſty conſented to it.

Now the day being appointed for his Majeſty to begin his
Journey, the King deſir'd that the Chancellor of the Exche-
quer might likewiſe part in the Queen's good grace, at leaſt
without her notable diſfavour, ſhe having been ſo ſevere to-
wards him, that he had not for ſome Months preſum'd to be
in her preſence: ſo that though he was very deſirous to kiſs
her Majeſty's hand, he himſelf knew not how to make any Ad-
vance towards it. But the day before the King was to be gone,
the Lord *Piercy*, who was directed by his Majeſty to ſpeak in
the Affair, and who in truth had kindneſs for the Chancellor,
and knew the prejudice againſt him to be very unjuſt, brought
him word that the Queen was content to ſee him, and that
he would accompany him to her in the Afternoon. Accord-
ingly at the hour appointed by her Majeſty, they found her
alone in her private Gallery, and the Lord *Piercy* withdraw-
ing to the other end of the Room, the Chancellor told her
Majeſty, "That now ſhe had vouchſafed to admit him into her
"preſence, he hoped, ſhe would let him know the ground of
"the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceiv'd againſt him; that ſo ha-
"ving vindicated himſelf from any fault towards her Majeſty,
"he might leave her with a confidence in his Duty, and re-
"ceive her Commands, with an aſſurance that they ſhould be
"punctually obey'd by him. The Queen, with a louder
voice, and more emotion than ſhe was accuſtom'd to, told
him, "That ſhe had been contented to ſee him, and to give
"him leave to kiſs her hand, to comply with the King's de-
"ſires, who had importuned her to it; otherwiſe, that he liv'd
"in that manner towards her, that he had no reaſon to ex-
"pect to be welcome to her: that ſhe need not aſſign any par-
"ticular miſcarriage of his, ſince his diſreſpect towards her
"was notorious to all Men; and that all Men took notice,
"that he never came where ſhe was, though he lodged under
"her Roof (for the Houſe was hers) "And that ſhe thought

Upon the King's departure from France, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had an Audience of the Queen Mother.

" she had not seen him in six Months before; which she look'd " upon as so high an Affront, that only her respect towards the " King prevailed with her to endure it.

When her Majesty made a pause, the Chancellor said, " That her Majesty had only mention'd his punishment, and " nothing of his fault: that how great soever his infirmities " were in defect of Understanding, or in good manners, he had " yet never been in *Bedlam*; which he had observ'd to be, if " he had affected to publish to the world that he was in the " Queen's disfavour, by avoiding to be seen by her: that he " had no kind of Apprehension that they who thought worst " of him, would ever believe him to be such a Fool, as to " provoke the Wife of his dead Master, the greatness of whose " Affections to her was well known to him, and the Mother " of the King, who subsisted by her favour, and all this in " *France*, where himself was a banish'd Person, and she at " home, where she might oblige, or disoblige him at her plea- " sure. So that he was well assured, that no body would think " him guilty of so much folly and madness, as not to use all " the endeavours he possibly could to obtain her Grace and " Protection: that it was very true, he had been long with- " out the presumption of being in her Majesty's presence, af- " ter he had undergone many sharp Instances of her displea- " sure, and after he had observ'd some alteration and aversion " in her Majesty's looks and countenance, upon his coming " into the Room where she was, and during the time he stay'd " there; which others likewise observ'd so much, that they " withdrew from holding any conversation with him in those " places, out of fear to offend her Majesty: that he had often " desir'd, by several Persons, to know the cause of her Maje- " sty's displeasure, and that he might be admitted to clear him- " self from any unworthy Suggestions which had been made " of him to her Majesty; but could never obtain that honour; " and therefore he had conceiv'd, that he was obliged, in good " manners, to remove so unacceptable an object from the eyes " of her Majesty, by not coming into her presence; which " all who knew him, could not but know to be the greatest " Mortification that could be inflicted upon him; and there- " fore he most humbly besought her Majesty at this Audience, " which might be the last he should receive of her, she would " dismiss him with the knowledge of what had been taken " amiss, that he might be able to make his innocence and in- " tegrity appear; which he knew had been blasted by the ma- " lice of some Persons; and thereby misunderstood and mis- " interpreted by her Majesty. But all this prevailed not with her Majesty; who, after she had, with her former passion, ob- jected his credit with the King, and his endeavours to lessen

that

that Credit which she ought to have, concluded, "That she "should be glad to see reason to change her opinion; and so, carelessly, extended her hand towards him; which he kissing, her Majesty departed to her Chamber.

The King left Paris *in* June 1654.

It was about the beginning of *June*, in the year 1654, that the King left *Paris*; and because he made a private Journey the first night, and did not joyn his Family till the next day, which administer'd much occasion of discourse, and gave occasion to a bold Person to publish, amongst the Amours of the *French* Court, a particular that reflected upon the Person of the King, though with less Licence than he used towards his own Soveraign, it will not be amiss in this place to mention a Preservation God then wrought for the King, that was none of the least of his Mercies vouchsafed to him; and which shews the wonderful Liberty that was then taken by some near him, to promote their own designs, and projects, at the price of their Master's Honour, and the Interest of their Country, or the Sense they had of that Honour and Interest.

There was at that time in the Court of *France*, or rather in the jealousy of that Court, a Lady of great Beauty, of a presence very graceful and alluring, and a Wit and Behaviour that Captivated those who were admitted into her presence; her Extraction was very Noble, and her Alliance the best under the Crown, her Fortune rather competent, than abounding, for her degree; being the Widow of a Duke of an Illustrious Name, who had been kill'd fighting for the King in the late Troubles, and left his Wife Childless, and in her full Beauty. The King had often seen this Lady with that esteem, and inclination, which few were without, both her Beauty, and her Wit deserving the homage that was paid to her. The Earl of *Bristol*, who was then a Lieutenant General in the *French* Army, and always Amorously inclined, and the more inclined by the difficulty of the attempt, was grown powerfully in love with this Lady; and to have the more power with her, communicated those Secrets of State which concern'd her safety, and more the Prince of *Condè*, whose Cousin German she was; the communication whereof was of benefit, or convenience to both: yet though he made many Romantick Attempts to ingratiate himself with her, and such as would neither have become, or been safe to any other Man than himself, who was accustom'd to extraordinary flights in the Air, he could not arrive at the high success he proposed. At the same time, the Lord *Crofts* was transported with the same Ambition; and though his Parts were very different from the others, yet he wanted not art and address to encourage him in those Attempts, and could bear repulses with more tranquillity of mind, and acquiescence, than the other could. When

these two Lords had lamented to each other their mutual Infelicity, they agreed generously to merit their Mistress's favour by doing her a Service that should deserve it; and boldly proposed to her the Marriage of the King; who, they both knew, had no dislike of her Person: and they pursued it with his Majesty with all their Artifices. They added the reputation of her Wisdom and Virtue to that of her Beauty, and "That she might be instrumental to the procuring more Friends "towards his Restoration, than any other Expedient, then in "view; and at last prevailed so far with the King, who no doubt had a perfect Esteem of her, that he made the Overture to her of Marriage; which she receiv'd with her natural modesty and address, declaring her self "To be much unwor-"thy of that Grace; and beseeching and advising him "To "preserve that affection and inclination for an object more "equal to him, and more capable to contribute to his Ser-"vice; using all those Arguments for refusal, which might prevail with and enflame him to new importunities.

THOUGH these Lords made themselves, upon this Advance, sure to go through with their design, yet they foresaw many obstructions in the way. The Queen, they knew, would never consent to it, and the *French* Court, would obstruct it, as they had done that of *Mademoiselle*; nor could they perswade the Lady her self to depart from her Dignity, and to use any of those Arts which might expedite the design. The Earl of *Bristol* therefore, that the News might not come to his Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted it to him, only as a passion of the King's that had exceedingly transported him; and then magnified the Lady, "As a person that would exceedingly cultivate the "King's Nature, and render him much more dexterous to ad-"vance his Fortune: and therefore he professed, "That he "would not diswade his Majesty from gratifying so noble an "affection; and used many Arguments to perswade the Chancellor too to think very well of the choice. But when he found that he was so far from concurring with him, that he reproach'd his great Presumption for interposing in an Affair of so delicate a nature, as by his Conduct might prove the ruin of the King, he seem'd resolv'd to prosecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to the King's own inclination; who, upon serious reflections upon his own Condition, and conference with those he trusted most, quickly concluded that such a Marriage was not like to yield much advantage to his Cause; and so resolv'd to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the same Persons perswaded him, that it was a necessary Generosity to take his last farewel of her; and so, after he had taken leave of his Mother, he went so much out of

his

his way as to visit her at her House; where those Lords made their last effort; and his Majesty, with great esteem of the Lady's Virtue, and Wisdom, the next day joyn'd his Family, and prosecuted his Journey towards *Flanders*; his small step out of the way, having raised a confident rumour in *Paris* that he was Married to that Lady.

THE King had receiv'd a Pass from the Arch-Duke for his passing through *Flanders*, so warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he should by no means make any unnecessary stay in his Journey; and he found the Gates of *Cambray* shut when he came thither; and was compell'd to stay long in the Afternoon, before they were open'd to receive him; which they excused, "By reason that they understood the Enemy was at hand, "and intended to sit down before that City; of which there appear'd in the face of all the People, and the Governour himself a terrible Apprehension. But, upon recollection, his Majesty was well receiv'd by the Governour, and treated and lodged that night by him in his House; who was the better composed by his Majesty's assuring him, "That the *French* "Army was at a great distance from him, and that his Ma- "jesty had passed through it the day before (when Marshal *Turenne* had drawn up the Army to receive his Majesty; the Duke of *York* having there likewise taken his leave of the King) "and by the march that they then appear'd to make, "there was great reason to conclude that they had no design "upon *Cambray*; which good information made the King's presence the more acceptable. But besides the civility of that Supper, and Lodging that Night, his Majesty had not the least Address from the Arch-Duke, who was within four or five Leagues with his Army, but passed without the least notice taken of him, through those Provinces; so great a terrour possessed the hearts of the *Spaniards*, lest their shewing any respect to the King in his passage through their Country, should incense *Cromwell* against them, whose friendship they yet seem'd to have hope of.

The King comes to Cambray in his Journey.

The King passes thro' Flanders without being taken notice of by the Arch-Duke.

HIS Majesty intended to have made no stay, having receiv'd Letters from the *Hague*, that his Sister was already in her Journey for the *Spaw*. But, when he came to *Mons*, he found two Gentleman there, who came out of *England* with Letters and Instructions from those of his Friends there who retain'd their old Affections. By them his Majesty was inform'd that many of them recover'd new Courage from the General discontent which possessed the Kingdom, and which every day encreased by the continual Oppressions, and Tyranny they sustain'd. The Taxes and Impositions every day were augmented, and *Cromwell*, and his Council, did greater

At Mons he meets with Messengers to him from his Friends in England. They notify to him the State of Affairs in England, relating chiefly to Cromwell and his Army.

Acts

Acts of Soveraignty than ever King and Parliament had attempted. All Goals were full of ſuch Perſons as contradicted their commands, and were ſuſpected to wiſh well to the King; and there appear'd ſuch a rend among the Officers of the Army, that the Protector was compell'd to diſplace many of them, and to put more confiding Men in their places. And as this remedy was very neceſſary to be applied for his Security, ſo it prov'd of great Reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at leaſt his confidence. For the licence of the Common Soldiers, manifeſted in their general and publick diſcourſes, cenſures, and reproaches of Him, and his Tyrannical proceedings (which Liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might diſcover the Affections, and Inclinations of other Men, and for his Service) did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwiſe than as they were Soldiers of this, or that Regiment, and under this or that Captain, whoſe Officers he knew well hated him, and who had their Soldiers ſo much at their Devotion, that they could lead them upon any Enterpriſe: and he knew well that this ſeditious Spirit poſſeſſed many of the principal Officers both of Horſe and Foot, who hated him now, in the ſame proportion that they had heretofore lov'd him, above all the world. This loud diſtemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by *Lambert*, and that they were all conducted and inſpired by his melancholick, and undiſcern'd Spirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this diſquiſition he ſaw hazard enough in attempting any Reformation (which the Army thought he durſt not undertake to do alone, and they fear'd not his proceeding by a Council of War, where they knew they had many Friends) but apparent danger, and very probable ruin, if he deferr'd it. And ſo truſting only to, and depending upon his own Stars, he caſhier'd ten or a dozen Officers, though not of the higheſt Command, and thoſe whom he moſt apprehended, yet of thoſe petulant and active humours, which made them for the preſent moſt uſeful to the others, and moſt pernicious to Him. By this experiment he found the example wrought great effects upon many who were not touch'd by it, and that the Men who had done ſo much miſchief, being now reduced to a private condition, and like other particular Men, did not only loſe all their credit with the Soliders, but behaved themſelves with much more warineſs and reſervation towards all other Men. This gave him more eaſe than he had before enjoy'd, and raiſed his reſolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like Provocations, and gave him great credit, and authority, with thoſe who had believ'd that many Officers had a greater influence upon the Army than himſelf.

It was very evident that he had some War in his purpose; for from the time that he had made a Peace with the *Dutch*, he took greater care to encrease his Stores and Magazines of Arms and Ammunition, and to build more Ships, than he had ever done before; and he had given order to make ready two great Fleets in the Winter, under Officers who should have no dependence upon each other; and Landmen were likewise appointed to be levied. Some principal Officers amongst these, made great professions of Duty to the King; and made tender of their Service to his Majesty by these Gentlemen. It was thought necessary to make a days stay at *Mons*, to dispatch those Gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be trusted. Such Commissions were prepared for them, and such Instructions, as were desir'd by those who employ'd them. And his Majesty gave nothing so much in Charge to the Messengers, and to all his Friends in *England* with whom he had correspondence, as "That they should live "quietly, without making any desperate or unreasonable at- "tempt, or giving advantage to those who watch'd them, to "put them into prison, and to ruin their Estates and Fami- "lies. He told them, "The vanity of imagining that any In- "surrection could give any trouble to so well a form'd and "disciplin'd Army, and the destruction that must attend such "rash attempt: that, as he would be always ready to ven- "ture his own Person with them in any reasonable, and well "form'd undertaking; so he would with patience attend God's "own time for such an opportunity; and, in the mean time, "he would sit still in such a convenient place as he should "find willing to receive him; of which he could yet make no "judgment: however, it was very necessary that such Com- missions should be in the hands of discreet and able Men, in Expectation of two Contingencies, which might reasonably be expected. The one, such a Schism in the Army, as might divide it upon contrary Interests into open Contests, and Declarations against each other, which could not but produce an equal Schism in the Government: the other, the death of *Cromwell*, which was conspired by the Levellers, under several Combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagin'd, that the Army would remain united to the particular design of any single Person, but that the Parliament, which had been with so much violence turn'd out of doors by *Cromwell*, and which took it self to be perpetual, would quickly assemble again together, and take upon themselves the supreme Government.

The King advises his Friends in England to be quiet.

Lambert, who was unquestionably the second Person in the Command of the Army, and was thought to be the first in their Affections, had had no less hand than *Cromwell* himself

self in the Dissolution of that Parliament, and was principal in raising him to be Protector under the Instrument of Government; and so could never reasonably hope to be trusted, and employ'd by them in the absolute Command of an Army that had already so notoriously rebell'd against their Masters. Then *Monk*, who had the absolute Command in *Scotland*, and was his Rival already, under a mutual Jealousy, would never submit to the Government of *Lambert*, if he had no other Title to it than his own presumption; and *Harry Cromwell* had made himself so popular in *Ireland*, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a Man whom he knew to be his Father's greatest Enemy. These considerations had made that Impression upon those in *England* who were the most wary and averse from any rash Attempt, that they all with'd that Commissions, and all other necessary powers, might be granted by the King, and deposited in such good hands as had the courage to trust themselves with the keeping them, till such a conjuncture should fall out as is mention'd, and of which few Men thought there was reason to despair.

The King arrives at the Spaw where he meets the Princess of Orange.

THE King having in this manner dispatch'd those Messengers, and settled the best way he could to correspond with his Friends, continued his Journey from *Mons* to *Namur*; where he had a pleasant passage by Water to *Liege*; from whence, in five or six hours, he reach'd the *Spaw*, the next day after the Princess Royal, his beloved Sister, was come thither, and where they resolv'd to spend two or three Months together, which they did, to their singular content and satisfaction. And for some time the Joy of being out of *France*, where his Majesty had enjoy'd no other pleasure than being alive, and the delight of the Company he was now in, suspended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his Sister to stay longer from her own Affairs in *Holland*, than the pretence of her health requir'd, so the *Spaw* was a place that no body could stay longer in than the season for the Waters continued; which ended with the Summer.

The Earl of Rochester returns to the King from Ratisbone.

THE King no sooner arriv'd at the *Spaw*, than the Earl of *Rochester* return'd thither to him from his Negotiation at *Ratisbone*; where he had remain'd during the Diet, without owning the Character he might have assumed; yet perform'd all the Offices with the Emperour, and the other Princes, with less noise and expence, and with the same success as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the *German* Princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the choosing a King of the *Romans*, was of vast expence to every one of them, and full of Faction, and contradiction; so that they had little leisure, and less inclination, to think

think of any buſineſs but what concern'd themſelves: yet in the cloſe of the Diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the Elector of *Mentz*, who was eſteem'd the wiſeſt, and moſt practical Prince of the Empire, and who, out of meer generoſity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the King; that Aſſembly was prevail'd with to grant a Subſidy of four Romer Months; which is the meaſure of all Taxes, and impoſitions in *Germany*; that is, by the Romer Months, which every Prince is to pay, and cauſe it to be collected from their Subjects in their own method. This Money was to be paid towards the better ſupport of the King of great *Britain*. And the Elector of *Mentz*, by his own Example, perſwaded as many of the Princes as he had credit with, forthwith to pay their proportions to the Earl of *Rocheſter*; who was ſollicitous enough to receive it. The whole Contribution, if it had been generouſly made good, had not amounted to any conſiderable Sum upon ſo important an occaſion. But the Emperour himſelf paid nothing, nor many other of the Princes, amongſt whom were the Elector *Palatine*, and the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe Caſſel*, who had both receiv'd great obligations from King *James*, and the laſt King his Son: So that the whole that was ever paid to the King, did not amount to ten thouſand pounds ſterling; a great part whereof was ſpent in the Negotiation of the Earl, and in the many Journies he made to the Princes, being extreamly poſſeſſed with the Spirit of being the King's General, which he thought he ſhould not be, except he made Levies of Men; for which he was very ſollicitous to make Contracts with old *German* Officers when there was neither Port in view, where he might Embark them, nor a poſſibility of procuring Ships to Tranſport them, though *Cromwell* had not been poſſeſſed of any Naval power to have reſiſted them; ſo blind Men are, whoſe Paſſions are ſo ſtrong, and their Judgment ſo weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.

The King obtains a ſmall ſubſidy from the Diet in Germany.

THAT part of the Money that was paid to his Majeſty's uſe, was managed with very good Husbandry, and was a ſeaſonable ſupport to his well order'd Family, which with his own Expences for his Table, and his Stable, and the Board-Wages, with which all his Servants from the higheſt to the loweſt were well ſatisfied, according to the eſtablishment after he left *France*, amounted not to above ſix hundred Piſtoles, a Month; which expence was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into *Holland* in order to his Return into *England*. This method in the managery gave the King great eaſe; contented, and kept the Family in better order and humour than could reaſonably have been expected; and was the more ſatisfactory, by the no-care, and order, that had been obſerved

The monthly Expences of the King's ſmall Family.

obſerv'd during all the reſidence the King had made in *France:*

THE King ſtay'd not ſo long at the *Spaw* as he meant to have done, the ſmall Pox breaking out there; and one of the young Ladies who attended upon the Princeſs Royal, being ſeiſed upon by it, died: ſo that his Majeſty, and his Siſter, upon very ſuddain thoughts, remov'd from the *Spaw* to *Aken*, or *Aquiſgrane*, an Imperial, and free Town, govern'd by their own Magiſtrates; where the King of the *Romans* ought to receive his firſt Iron Crown, which is kept there. This place is famous for its hot Baths, whither many come after they have drank the cold Waters of the *Spaw*, and was a part of the preſcription which the Phyſicians had made to the Princeſs, after ſhe ſhould have finiſh'd her Waters in the other Place. Upon that pretence, and for the uſe of thoſe Baths, the Courts remov'd now thither; but in truth with a deſign that the King might make his Reſidence there, the Town being large, and the Country about it pleaſant, and within five hours (for the Journies in thoſe Countries are meaſured by hours) of *Maeſtricht*, the moſt pleaſant Seat within the Dominions of the United Provinces. The Magiſtrates receiv'd the King ſo Civilly, that his Majeſty, who knew no other Place where he was ſure to be admitted, reſolv'd to ſtay there; and in order thereunto, contracted for a convenient Houſe, which belonged to one who was called a Baron; whether he reſolv'd to remove, aſſoon as his Siſter, who had taken the two great Inns of the Town for Her's, and the King's Accommodation, ſhould return into *Holland*.

The King removes to Aken *from the* Spaw.

HERE the good old Secretary *Nicholas*, who had remain'd in *Holland* from the time that, upon the Treaty of *Breda*, the King had Tranſported himſelf into *Scotland*, preſented himſelf to his Majeſty; who receiv'd him very graciouſly, as a Perſon of great Merit and Integrity from the beginning of the Troubles, and always entirely truſted by the King his Father. And now to him the King gave his Signet; which for three years had been kept by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, out of Friendſhip that it might be reſtored to him. And he had therefore refuſed in *France* to be admitted into the Secretary's Office, which he executed, becauſe he knew that they who adviſed it, did it rather that *Nicholas* might not have it, than out of any kindneſs to himſelf. He held himſelf obliged by the Friendſhip that had ever been between them, to preſerve it for him; and, aſſoon as he came to *Aken*, deſired the King to declare him to be his Secretary; which was done; by which he had a faſt Friend added to the Council, and of general reputation.

Secretary Nicholas *comes hither to the King, and the King gives him the Signet.*

WHEN the King remain'd at *Aken*, he receiv'd many Expreſſes out of *England*, which inform'd him of the renew'd

The accounts the King receives here out of England.

courage

courage of his Friends there: that the Faction and Animosity, which every day appear'd between the Officers of the Army, and in *Cromwell*'s Council, upon particular Interest, raised a general opinion and hope, that there would be an absolute rupture between them, when either Party would be glad to make a conjunction with the King's. In order thereunto, there was an Intelligence enter'd into throughout the Kingdom, that they might make use of such an occasion; and they sent now to the King to be directed by him, how they should behave themselves upon such and such contingencies; and send for more Commissions of the same kind as had been formerly sent to them. The King renew'd his Commands to them, "Not "to flatter themselves with vain imaginations; nor to give "too easy credit to appearances of Factions and Divisions; "which would always be counterfeited, that they might the "more easily dicover the Agitations, and Transactions of those "upon whom they look'd as inveterate and irreconcilable "Enemies to the Government.

He gives the same advice as before to his Friends.

News came from *Scotland*, that *Middleton* had some Successes in the High-lands; and the *Scotish* Lords who were Prisoners in *England*, assured the King, "That there was now so "entire a Union in that Nation for his Service, that they "wish'd his Majesty himself would venture thither: and the "Lord *Balcarris*, who was with the King, and entrusted by that People, used much Instance with him to that purpose; which, how unreasonable soever the Advice seem'd to be Men knew not how to contradict by proposing any thing that seem'd more reasonable; and so underwent the reproach of being lazy and unactive, and unwilling to submit to any fatigue, or to expose themselves to any danger; without which, it was thought, his Majesty could not expect to be restored to any part of his Soveraignty.

The King receives an account from Scotland and Middleton.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer one day representing to the King the sadness of his condition, and the general discourses of Men, and, "That it was his Majesty's misfortune to "be thought by many not to be active enough towards his "own redemption, and to love his ease too much, in respect "both of his Age, and his Fortune, desired him "To consider "upon this news, and importunity from *Scotland*, whether "in those High-lands there might not be such a safe retreat "and residence, that he might reasonably say, that with the "affections of that People, which had been always firm both "to his Father and Himself, he might preserve himself in safe-"ty, though he could not hope to make any advance, or re-"cover the lower Part of that Kingdom possessed by the Ene-"my; and if so, whether he might not expect the good hand "of Providence, by some Revolution, more honourably

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's discourse to the King concerning his going into Scotland.

"There

The King's reply.

"There, than in such Corners of other Princes Dominions, "as he might be forced to put himself into. His Majesty discoursed very calmly of that Country, part whereof he had seen; of the miserable poverty of the People, of their course of Life; and how "Impossible it was for him to live there with "security or with health; that, if sickness did not destroy him, "which he had reason to expect from the ill Accommodation "he must be there contented with, he should in a short time "be betray'd and given up. And in this Debate, he told him that melancholick Conclusion, which *David Lesley* made at *Warrington* Bridge, which is mention'd before, when he told the King, "That those Men would never fight; which his Majesty had never, he said, told to any body before. However, he said, "If his Friends would advise him to that Expedition, "he would transport himself into the High-lands; though he "knew what would come of it, and that they would be sorry "for it: which stopp'd the Chancellor from ever saying more to that purpose. And it was not long after that news came of *Middleton*'s having been like to be given up to the Enemy by the treachery of that People, and of the defeat his Troops had receiv'd, and that he should be at last forced to quit that miserable Country; which, however, he resolv'd to endure, as long as should be possible.

THE Season of the year now begun to approach that would oblige the Princess Royal to return to the *Hague*, lest the jealous States, from her long absence, might be induced to contrive some Act prejudicial to her, and her Son; which she was the more liable to, from the unkind Differences between Her and the Princess Dowager, Mother of the deceased Prince of *Orange*, a Lady of great cunning and dexterity to promote her own Interest. The air of *Aken*, and the ill smell of the Bath, made that place less agreeable to the King than at first he believ'd it to be; and he wish'd to find a better Town to reside in, which he might be put to endure long. The City of *Cologne* was distant from *Aken* two short days Journey, and had the fame of an excellent Situation. But the People were reported to be of a proud and mutinous Nature, always in Rebellion against their Bishop and Prince, and of so much Bigottry in Religion that they had expelled all Protestants out of their City, and would suffer no exercise of Religion, but of the Roman Catholick. So that there seem'd little hope that they would permit the King to reside there; the rather, because it was the Staple for the Wines of that Country, and maintain'd a good intelligence and trade with *England*. If the King should send thither to provide a House, and declare a purpose to stay there, and they should refuse to receive him, it might be of very ill consequence, and fright any other places,

places, and *Aken* it self, from permitting him to return thither; and therefore that Adventure was to be avoided. At last it was concluded, that the Princess Royal should make *Cologne* her way into *Holland*; which was reasonable enough, by the convenience of the River for the commodious Transportation of her Goods, and Family: and the King accompanying her so far, might make a judgment, upon his observation, whether it would be best for him to stay there, or to return to *Aken*; where he would leave his Family, as the place where he had taken a House, and to which he meant in few days to return. With this resolution they left *Aken*, about the middle of *September*; and Lodging one Night at *Juliers*, a little dirty Town upon a flat, not worthy to have made a Quarrel between so many of the Princes of *Europe*, nor of the fame it got by the Siege, they came the next day to *Cologne*; where they were receiv'd with all the Respect, Pomp, and Magnificence, that could be expected, or the City could perform. The House which the Harbingers of the Princess had taken for her Reception, serv'd likewise to accommodate the King; and the Magistrates perform'd their Respects to both with all possible demonstration of civility.

In September the King and his Sister come to Cologne.

Cologne is a City most pleasantly Situated upon the Banks of the *Rhine*; of a large extent, and fair and substantial Buildings; and encompassed with a broad and excellent Rampert, upon which are fair Walks of great Elms, where two Coaches may go on breast, and, for the beauty of it, is not inferior to the Walls of *Antwerp*, but rather superior, because This goes round the Town. The Government is under the Senate and Consuls; of whom there was one then Consul, who said, "He was descended from Father to Son of a Patri-"cian Roman Family, that had continued from the time the "Colony was first planted there. It had never been otherwise subject to the Bishops, than in some points which refer to their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; which They sometimes endeavouring to enlarge, the Magistrates always oppose: and that gives the subject of the discourse of Jealousies, and Contests, between their Prince and Them; which are neither so frequent, nor of that moment, as they are reported to be. The Elector never resides there, but keeps his Court at his Castle of *Bonne*, near four Miles from thence. And that Elector, who was of the House of *Bavaria*, and a melancholick and peevish Man, had not then been in the City in very many years. The Number of Churches and Religious Houses is incredible; insomuch as it was then averr'd, "That the Religi-"ous Persons and Church-men made up a full moiety of the "Inhabitants of the Town; and Their Interest and Authority so far prevailed, that, some few years before the King came

thither, they expell'd all those of the Protestant Religion, contrary to the Advice of the wisest of the Magistrates; who confessed "That the Trade of the Town was much decayed "thereby, and the Poverty thereof much increased. And it is very possible, that the vast Number, and unskilful Zeal of the Ecclesiastical and Religious Persons, may at some time expose that noble City to the surprise of some powerful Prince, who would quickly deprive them of their long enjoy'd Privileges. And there was, in that very time of the King's stay there, a design by the *French* to have surprised it; *Schomberg* lying many days in wait there, to have perform'd that Service; which was very hardly prevented. The People are so much more civil than they were reported to be, that they seem to be the most conversible, and to understand the Laws of Society and Conversation better than any other People of *Germany*. To the King they were so devoted, that when they understood he was not so fixed to the resolution of residing at *Aken*, but that he might be diverted from it, they very handsomely made tender to him of any accommodation that City could yield him, and of all the affection and Duty they could pay him; which his Majesty most willingly accepted; and giving Order for the payment of the rent of the House he had taken at *Aken*, which he had not at all used, and other disbursments, which the Master of the House had made to make it the more convenient for his Majesty, and likewise sending very gracious Letters to the Magistrates of that Town, for the civility they had expressed towards him, he sent for that part of his Family which remain'd there, to attend him at *Cologne*; where he declared he would spend that Winter.

The Citizens invite the King to reside there.

The King fixes there.

As soon as the King came to *Cologne*, he sent to the Neighbour Princes, by proper messages and insinuations, for that Money, which by the grant of the Diet, that is, by their own concession, they were obliged to pay to his Majesty; which though it amounted to no great Sum, yet it was of great conveniency to his Support. The Duke of *Newburgh*, whose Court was at *Dusseldorp*, a small days Journey from *Cologne*, and by which the Princess Royal was to pass if she made use of the River, sent his Proportion very generously, with many expressions of great respect and duty, and with insinuation "That he would be glad to receive the honour of Entertain-"ing the King, and his Sister, in his Palace, as she return'd. However he forbore to make any solemn Invitation, without which they could not make the Visit, till some Ceremonies were first adjusted; upon which that Nation is more punctual, and obstinate, than any other People in *Europe*. He who gave the Intimation, and came only with a compliment to congratulate his Majesty's and her Royal Highness's Arrival in those parts,

parts, was well instructed in the particulars; of which there were only two of Moment, and the rest were Formalities from which they might recede, if those two were consented to. The one was, "That the King, at their first meeting, should at least "once treat the Duke with *Alteſſe*; the other, "That the "Duke might salute the Princess Royal; and without consenting to these two, there could be no meeting between them. Both the King and his Sister were naturally enough inclined to new sights, and festivities; and the King thought it of moment to him to receive the respect and civility of any of the *German* Princes: and among Them, there were few more considerable in their Dominions, and none in their Persons, than the Duke of *Newburgh*; who reckon'd himself upon the same Level with the Electors. And the King was inform'd, "That the Emperour himself always treated him with *Alteſſe*; and therefore his Majesty made no Scruple of giving him the same. The matter of saluting the Princess Royal was of a new and delicate nature; that dignity had been so punctually preserv'd, from the time of her coming into *Holland*, that the old Prince of *Orange*, Father of her Husband, would never pretend to it: yet that Ceremony depending only upon the custom of Countries, and the Duke of *Newburgh* being a Soveraign Prince, inferior to none in *Germany*, and his Embassadour always covering before the Emperour, the King thought fit, and her Royal Highness consented, that the Duke should salute her. And so all matters being adjusted without any Noise, the King, about the middle of *October*, accompanied his Sister by Water to *Dusseldorp*; where they arriv'd between three and four of the Clock in the Afternoon; and found the Duke and his Duchess waiting for them on the side of the Water; where after having perform'd their mutual Civilities and Compliments, the King, and the Princess Royal, and the Duke and the Duchess of *Newburgh*, went into the Duke's Coach, and the Company into the Coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the Castle, that was very near; where his Majesty was conducted into his Quarter, and the Princess into Her's, the Duke and the Duchess immediately retiring into their own Quarters; where they new dressed themselves, and visited not the King again till above half an hour before Supper, and after the King and Princess had perform'd their Devotion.

THE Castle is a very princely House, having been the Seat of the Duke of *Cleve*; which Duchy, together with that of *Juliers*, having lately fallen to Heirs Females (whereof the Mothers of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and Duke of *Newburgh*, were two, when all the Pretenders seising upon that which lay most convenient to them, this of *Dusseldorp*, by

agreement, afterwards remain'd ſtill to *Newburgh*; whoſe Father being of the Reform'd Religion in the late contention, found the Houſe of *Brandenburgh* too ſtrong for him, by having the Prince of *Orange* and the States his faſt Friends; and thereupon, that he might have a ſtrong Support from the Emperour and King of *Spain*, became Roman Catholick, and thereby had the Aſſiſtance he expected. At the ſame time he put his Son, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jeſuits; by which Education, the preſent Duke was with more than ordinary Bigottry zealous in the Roman Religion.

He was a Man of very fine parts of knowledge, and in his manners and behaviour much the beſt bred of any *German*. He had the flowing civility, and language of the *French*, enough reſtrain'd, and controled by the *German* gravity and formality; ſo that, altogether, he ſeem'd a very accompliſh'd Prince, and became himſelf very well, having a good perſon, and graceful Motion. He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the Siſter of the former, and the then King of *Poland*; who leaving only a Daughter, he was now newly married to the Daughter of the Landgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, who upon her marriage became Roman Catholick. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the *French* Language and Vivacity, to contribute to the Entertainment; ſo that ſhe was rather a Spectator of the feſtivity, than a part of it. The entertainment was very ſplendid and magnificent in all preparations, as well for the Tables which were prepared for the Lords and the Ladies, as That where his Majeſty and his Siſter and the Duke and the Ducheſs only ſate: the meals, according to the cuſtom of *Germany*, very long, with ſeveral ſorts of Muſick, both of Inſtruments and Voices; which if not excellent, was new, and differ'd much from what his Majeſty was accuſtom'd to hear. There was Wine in abundance, but no Man preſſed to drink, if he called not for it; and the Duke himſelf an Enemy to all exceſſes.

The King brings his Siſter to Santen *in the Duchy of* Cleve: *where they part; and the King returns to* Cologne.

After two days ſpent in this manner, in which time the King made a great Friendſhip with the Duke, which always continued, they parted; and there being near the River, diſtant another ſhort day's Journey, a handſome open Town of good receipt, call'd *Santen*, belonging to that part of the Duchy of *Cleve*, which was aſſign'd to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the King reſolv'd to accompany his Siſter thither; where having ſpent that Night, the next Morning her Royal Highneſs after an unwilling Farewel, proſecuted her Journey to *Holland*, and his Majeſty return'd by Horſe to *Cologne*; where the ſame Houſe was prepared for him in which He and his Siſter had inhabited, whilſt ſhe ſtaid there. And by this time the end of *October* was come; which, in thoſe parts, is more than

than the entrance into Winter. The Magistrates of the City renew'd their civilities, and professions of respect to the King; which they always made good; nor could his Majesty have chosen a more convenient retreat in any place; and He, being well refresh'd with the divertisements he had enjoy'd, betook himself with great chearfulness to compose his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedness, prescribed so many hours in the day to his retirement in his Closet; which he employ'd in reading, and studying, both the *Italian* and *French* Languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the Walls of the Town, (for, as is said before, he had no Coach, nor would suffer his Sister to leave him one) and sometimes rid into the Fields; and, in the whole, spent his time very well. *His way of life there.*

THE Nuntio of the Pope resided in that City, and perform'd all respects to his Majesty: He was a proper and grave Man, an *Italian* Bishop, who never made the least scruple at his Majesty's enjoying the liberty of his Chappel, and the exercise of his Religion, though it was very publick; so that in truth his Majesty was not without any respect that could be shew'd to him in those parts save that the Elector never came to see him, though he liv'd within little more than an hour; which he excused by some indisposition of health, and unwillingness to enter into that City; though it proceeded as much from the sullenness, and morosness of his Nature, unapt for any conversation, and averse from all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his small Quota, which had been granted to the King by the Diet, and was at last extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been prest upon any other Prince, or Gentleman. This Elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complain'd of, since the Elector *Palatine*, so nearly allied to the Crown, and so much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the King's being so near him, or to send a Messenger to salute him.

WITHIN a short time after his Majesty's return to *Cologne*, he receiv'd news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the mischief which he saw was likely to befall him upon it. From *Paris*, his Majesty heard, that the Queen had put away the Tutor he had left to attend his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*; who remain'd at *Paris*, upon her Majesty's desire, that he might learn his Exercises. The Queen had conferr'd with him upon "the desperateness of his condition, in respect of the King his "Brother's fortune, and the little hope that appear'd that his "Majesty could ever be restored, at least if he did not him-"self become Roman Catholick; whereby the Pope, and *An account of the endeavours at Paris to pervert the Duke of Glocester in his Religion.*

"other Princes of that Religion, might be united in his quar-
"rel; which they would never undertake upon any other ob-
"ligation: that it was therefore fit that the Duke, who had
"nothing to support him, nor could expect any thing from the
"King, should be instructed in the Roman Catholick Reli-
"gion; that so, becoming a good Catholick, he might be ca-
"pable of those advantages which her Majesty should be able
"to procure for him: That the Queen of *France* would here-
"upon confer Abbies, and Benefices upon him, to such a va-
"lue, as would maintain him in that splendour as was suitable
"to his Birth: that, in a little time, the Pope would make
"him a Cardinal; by which he might be able to do the King
"his Brother much service, and contribute to his Recovery;
"whereas, without this, he must be exposed to great necessi-
"ty, and misery, for that she was not able any longer to give
"him maintenance. She found the Duke more resolute than
she expected from his Age; he was so well instructed in his
Religion, that he disputed against the change: urged the
precepts he had receiv'd from the King his Father, and his dy-
ing in the Faith he had prescribed to him; put her Majesty
in mind of the promise she had made to the King his Bro-
ther at parting; and acknowledged "That he had obliged him-
"self to his Majesty, that he would never change his Reli-
"gion; and therefore besought her Majesty, that she would
"not farther press him, at least till he should inform the King
"of it. The Queen well enough knew the King's mind, and
thought it more excusable to proceed in that Affair without
imparting it to him; and therefore took upon her the Autho-
rity of a Mother, and remov'd his Tutor from him; and com-
mitted the Duke to the care of Abbot *Mountague* her Almo-
ner; who, having the pleasant Abby of *Pontoise*, entertain'd
his Highness there, sequester'd from all resort of such Persons
as might confirm him in his averseness from being converted.

As soon as the King receiv'd this Advertisement, which both the Duke and his Tutor made haste to transmit to him, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his Majesty knew the reproaches which would be cast upon him by his Enemies, who took all the pains they could to perswade the world, that he himself had changed his Religion; and though his exercise of it was so publick, wherever he was, that Strangers resorted to it, and so could bear witness of it, yet their impudence was such in their positive averment, that they perswaded many in *England*, and especially of those of the Reform'd Religion abroad, that his Majesty was in truth a Papist: and his leaving his Brother behind him in *France*, where it was evident the Queen would endeavour to pervert him, would be an Argument, that he did not desire to prevent it: on the

other

other side, he knew well the little credit he had in *France*, and how far they would be from assisting him, in a contest of such a nature with his Mother. However, that the world might see plainly that he did all that was in his power, he sent the Marquis of *Ormond* with all possible Expedition into *France*; who, he very well knew, would steadily execute his Commands. He writ a Letter of complaint to the Queen, of her having proceeded in that manner in a matter of so near importance to him, and conjur'd her "To discontinue the prosecution of it; and to suffer his Brother the Duke of *Glocester* to repair with the Marquis of *Ormond* to his presence. He commanded the Duke "Not to consent to any Propositions which should be made to him for the change of his Religion; and that he should follow the advice of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and accompany him to *Cologne*. And he directed the Marquis of *Ormond* "To let Mr *Mountague*, and "whosoever of the *English* should joyn with him, know, that "they should expect such a resentment from his Majesty, if "they did not comply with his Commands, as should be suitable to his honour, and to the affront they put upon him.

The King sends the Marquis of Ormond into France for him.

THE Marquis behaved himself with so much wisdom and resolution, that though the Queen was enough offended with him, and with the expostulation the King made with her, and imputed all the King's sharpness and resolution to the Counsel he receiv'd from the Marquis and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet she thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the Duke, both against the King's and his own Will; and the Duke, upon the receipt of the King's Letter, declar'd "That he would obey his Majesty; and the Abbot found, that he must enter into an absolute defiance with the King, if he persisted in advising the Queen not to comply with his Majesty's directions: so that, after two or three days deliberation, the Queen expressing very much displeasure at the King's proceeding, and that she should wholly be devested of the power and authority of a Mother, told the Marquis, "That the "Duke might dispose of himself as he pleased; and that she "would not concern her self farther, nor see him any more. And thereupon the Duke put himself into the hands of the Marquis; who immediately remov'd him from *Pontoise* to the House of the Lord *Hatton*, an *English* Lord, who liv'd then in *Paris*; where he remain'd for some days, until the Marquis could borrow Money (which was no easy matter) to defray the Journey to the King. And then they quickly left *Paris*; and shortly after came to the King; who was extremely satisfied with the Marquis's Negotiation and success; and kept his Brother always with him, till the time that he return'd into *England*, the Queen remaining as much unsatisfied.

The Marquis brings the Duke to Cologne.

INNOCENT the tenth was now dead; who had out-liv'd the understanding and Judgment he had been formerly Master of, and lost all the Reputation he had formerly gotten; and, as *Jehoram, departed without being desired.* He had fomented the Rebellion in *England* by cherishing that in *Ireland*; whither he had sent a light-headed Nuntio, who did much mischief to his Majesty's Service, as hath been touch'd before. The world was in great expectation who should succeed Him, when, one day, the Duke of *Newburgh* sent a Gentleman to the King to bring him the news that Cardinal *Chigi* was chosen Pope; "Of which, the Duke said, "His Majesty "had great cause to be glad; which the King understood not. But, the next day, the Duke himself came to the King, and told him, "That he came to Congratulate with his Majesty for "the Election of the new Pope, who call'd himself *Alexander* "the seventh; and who, he said, he was confident, would do "him great Service; and thereupon related a discourse that had passed between Him and the new Pope, when he was Nuntio at *Cologne*, some years before: When they two conferring together ("As, he said, "There was great confidence, "and Friendship between them) of the Rebellion in *England*, and of the execrable Murder of the late King, the Nuntio broke out into great Passion, even with Tears, and said, "It "was a monstrous thing that the two Crowns should weary "and spend each others Strength, and Spirits, in so unjust and "groundless a War, when they had so noble an occasion to "unite their Power to Revenge that impious Murther, in "which the Honour, and the Lives of all Kings, were con-"cern'd; and, he said, the Pope was concern'd never to let "either of them to be quiet, till he had reconciled them, and "obliged all Christian King's and States, without considera-"tion of any difference in Religion, to joyn together for the "Restoration of the King; which would be the greatest Ho-"nour the Pope could obtain in this World. All which, he "said, "The Nuntio spoke with so much warmth and concern-"ment, that he could not doubt, but that now God had "raised him to that Chair, he hoped, for that end, he would "remember his former opinion, and execute it himself; be-"ing, he said, "A Man of the most publick heart, and the "most superior to all private designs, that the World had: the Duke taking great delight to remember many of his discourses, and describing him to be such a Man, as he was generally believ'd to be for the first two years of his Reign, till he manifested his Affections with more Ingenuity. The Duke desired his Majesty to consider, "Whether there might not be "somewhat he might reasonably wish from the Pope; and if "it were not fit to be proposed as from his Majesty, he would "be

The Duke of Newburgh sends the King word that Cardinal Chigi was chosen Pope; and his discourse with his Majesty concerning making some application to the Pope for supply and assistance.

"be willing to promote it in his own Name, having, he "thought, some Interest in his Holiness. And, he said, "He "was resolv'd to send a Person purposely to *Rome* with his "Congratulation, and to render his Obedience to the Pope; "and that he would instruct that Person in whatsoever his "Majesty should wish: and though he could not hope, that "any greater matter would be done towards his Majesty's "Restoration, till the Peace should be effected between the "two Crowns (which he knew the Pope would labour in till "he had brought it to pass) yet he could not doubt but that, "out of the generosity of his Holiness, his Majesty would re-"ceive some supply towards his better Support; which, for "the present, was all that could be expected: that the Person "whom he intended to send was a Jesuit, who was at that "present in *Newburgh*; but he had, or would send for him: "that though he was a Religious Man, yet he was a Person "of that Experience, Temper, and Wisdom, that he had en-"trusted him in Affairs not only of the greatest Secrecy, but "in Negotiations of the greatest Importance; in which he "had always behaved himself with singular Prudence and "Judgment; and he assured his Majesty "He was equal to "any Trust; and if, upon what he had said and offer'd, his "Majesty thought he might be of use to him in his Journey, "he would send him to *Cologne*, assoon as he came, that he "might attend upon his Majesty, and receive any Commands "he would vouchsafe to lay upon him.

THOUGH the King had in truth very little hope that the new Pope would be more magnanimous than the old, and did believe that the Maxim, with which *Innocent* had answer'd those who would have dispos'd him to supply the King with some Money, "That he could not, with a good Conscience, "apply the Patrimony of the Church to the assistance and sup-"port of Hereticks, would be as current Divinity with *Alexan-der*, and all his Successors, yet he could not but be abun-dantly satisfied with the kindness of the Duke of *Newburgh*, and could not conclude how far his Interposition might pre-vail upon a Temper and Constitution so refin'd, and without those Dregs which others had used to carry about them to that Promotion: therefore, after those acknowledgments which were due for the Overtures, his Majesty told him, "That he would entirely commit it to his Wisdom, to do those "Offices with the new Pope as he thought fit, since he could "expect nothing but upon that Account; and that he would "do any thing on His part which was fit for him to do, and "which should be thought of moment to facilitate the other "Pretences. Whereupon the Duke told him, "That the bloody "Laws in *England* against the Roman Catholick Religion

"made

"made a very great noise in the World; and that his Majesty "was generally understood to be a Prince of a tender and Mer- "ciful Nature, which would not take delight in the execu- "ting so much Cruelty; and therefore he conceiv'd it might "be very agreeable to his inclination to declare, and promise, "that when it should please God to Restore his Majesty to "his Government, he would never suffer those Laws to be "executed, but would cause them to be repealed; which ge- "nerous and pious Resolution made known to the Pope, "would work very much upon him, and dispose him to make "an answerable return to his Majesty. The King answer'd, "That his Highness might very safely undertake on his be- "half, that if it should be in his Power, it should never be in "his Will, to execute those severe Laws: but that it was not "in his Power absolutely to repeal them; and it would be "less in his Power to do it, if he declared that he had a pur- "pose to do it: therefore, "That must be left to time; and it "might reasonably be presum'd, that he would not be back- "ward to do all of that kind which he should find himself "able to do; and the Declaration which he then made, his "Majesty said, that he would be ready to make to the Person "the Duke meant to send, if he came to him: which was ac- "knowledged to be as much as could be desired.

GERMANY is the part of the World, where the Jesuits are look'd upon to have the Ascendent over all other Men in the deepest mysteries of State and Policy, insomuch as there is not a Prince's Court of the Roman Catholick Religion, where- in a Man is held to be a good Courtier, or to have a desire to be thought a Wise Man, who hath not a Jesuit to his Confessor; which may be one of the reasons, that the Policy of that Na- tion is so different from, and so much undervalued by the other Politick Parts of the World. And therefore 'tis the less to be wonder'd at that this Duke, who had himself ex- traordinary Qualifications, retain'd that reverence for those who had taught him when he was young, that he believ'd Them to grow, and to be improv'd as fast as He, and so to be still abler to inform him. Without doubt, he did believe his Jesuit to be a very Wise Man; and, it may be, knew, that He would think so to whom he were sent: and assoon as he came to him, he sent him to the King to be instructed and inform'd of his Majesty's pleasure. The Man had a very good aspect, and less vanity and presumption than that Society use to have, and seem'd desirous to merit from the King by do- ing him Service; but had not the same confidence he should do it, as his Master had. And when he return'd from *Rome*, he brought nothing with him from the Pope but general good wishes for the King's Restoration, and sharp complaints against

The Effect of it.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Mazarin* for being deaf to all Overtures of Peace; and that till then, all Attempts to ſerve his Majeſty would be vain and ineffectual; and concerning any Supply of Money, he told the Duke, that the Pope had uſed the ſame Adage that his Predeceſſor had done; and ſo that Intrigue was determin'd.

An inſurrection deſign'd in England by ſome of the King's Party.

THE reſt and quiet that the King propoſed to himſelf in this neceſſitated retreat, was diſturb'd by the impatience and activity of his Friends in *England*; who notwithſtanding all his Majeſtys Commands, and Injunctions, not to enter upon any ſuddain and raſh Inſurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the leaſt benefit or advantage to His Service, were ſo prick'd and ſtung by the inſolence of their Enemies, and the uneaſineſs of their own Condition and Fortune, that they could not reſt. They ſent Expreſſes every day to *Cologne* for more Commiſſions and Inſtructions, and made an Erroneous Judgment of their own ſtrength and power, by concluding that all who hated the preſent Government, would concur with them to overthrow it, at leaſt would act no part in the defence of it. They aſſured the King, "That they had made ſufficient proviſion of Arms and "Ammunition, and had ſo many Perſons engaged to appear "upon any day that ſhould be aſſign'd, that they only deſir'd "his Majeſty would appoint that day; and that they were ſo "united, that even the diſcovery before the day, and the clapping up many Perſons in Priſon, which they expected, ſhould "not break the deſign. The King doubted they would be deceiv'd; and that, though the Perſons who ſent thoſe Expreſſes, were very honeſt Men, and had ſerv'd well in the War, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to ſo great a work. However, it was not fit to diſcountenance or diſhearten them; for as many of his Party were too reſtleſs, and too active, ſo there were more of them remiſs and lazy, and even abandon'd to deſpair. The truth is, the unequal Temper of thoſe who wiſh'd very well, and the Jealouſy, at leaſt the want of confidence in each other, made the King's Part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correſpondence with his Majeſty, and thoſe he aſſign'd to that Office, would not truſt each other; every body choſe their own knot, with whom they would converſe, and would not communicate with any body elſe; for which they had too juſt excuſes from the diſcoveries which were made every day by want of Wit, as much as want of Honeſty; and ſo Men were caſt into Priſon, and kept there, upon general Jealouſies. But this reſervation, ſince they could not all reſolve to be quiet, prov'd very grievous to the King; for he could not convert and reſtrain thoſe who were too forward, and by the counſel of thoſe who ſtood in a better light, and could diſcern better what was to be done,

done, because they could not be brought together to confer; and they who appear'd to be less desperate, were by the others reproach'd with being less Affectionate, and to want Loyalty as much as Courage: so they who were undone upon one and the same Account, were oppressed, and torn in pieces by one and the same Enemy, and could never hope for recovery but by one and the same remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted a greater Animosity between themselves, than against their Common Adversary: nor could the King reconcile this distemper, nor preserve himself from being invaded by it.

THOUGH the Messengers who were sent, were addressed only to the King himself, and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and were so carefully concealed, that no Notice was taken or Advertisement sent by the many Spies, who were suborn'd to give Intelligence of any one Express that was sent to *Cologne*, yet they had commonly some Friend or acquaintance in the Court, with whom they conferr'd; and ever return'd worse satisfied with those who made objections against what they proposed, or seem'd to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they so confidently promised; and it was thought a very reasonable conviction of a Man who liked not the most extravagant Undertaking, if he was not ready to propose a better: so that his Majesty thought fit often to seem to think better of many things promised than in truth he did. The Messengers, which were sent this Winter to *Cologne* (who, I say still, were honest Men, and sent from those who were such) proposed to the King, as they had formerly done, "That when they were in Arms, and had provided a "place where his Majesty might land safely, he would then "be with them, that there might be no dispute upon Command: and in the Spring they sent to him, "That the day "was appointed, the eighteenth of *April*, when the Rising "would be general, and many places seised upon, and some "declare for the King; which were in the hands of the Army: for they still pretended, and did believe, "That a part of the "Army would declare against *Cromwell* at least, though not "for the King: that *Kent* was united to a Man; *Dover* Ca-"stle would be possessed, and the whole County in Arms "upon that day; and therefore that his Majesty would vouch-"safe to be in some place, concealed, upon the Sea-Coast, "which it was very easy for him to be on that day; from "whence, upon all being made good that was undertaken, "and full Notice given to his Majesty that it was so, he might "then, and not before, transport himself to that part which "he thought to be in the best posture to receive him, and "might give such other directions to the rest as he found ne-"cessary:

Propositions to the King to this purpose from England.

"neceſſary: and even all theſe particulars were communicated in confidence by the Meſſengers to their Friends who were near the King, and who again thought it but reaſonable to raiſe the Spirits of their Friends, by letting them know in how happy a condition the King's Affairs were in *England*; and "That his Friends were in ſo good a poſture throughout the "Kingdom, that they feared not that any diſcovery might be "made to *Cromwell*, being ready to own and juſtify their "Councels with their Swords: ſo that all this quickly became more than whiſper'd throughout the Court; and "That the "King was only expected to be nearer *England*, how diſgui-"ſed ſoever, that he might quickly put himſelf into the head "of the Army that would be ready to receive him, whereby "all emulations about Command might be prevented, or im-"mediately taken away; and if his Majeſty ſhould now neg-"lect this opportunity, it might eaſily be concluded, that ei-"ther he was betrayed, or that their Counſels were conducted "by Men of very ſhallow capacities and underſtanding.

How weakly and improbably ſoever theſe preparations were adjuſted, the day was poſitively appointed, and was ſo near, at the time when his Majeſty had notice of it, that it was not poſſible for him to ſend Orders to contradict it: and he foreſaw, that if any thing ſhould be attempted without ſucceſs, it would be imputed to his not being at a diſtance near enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it was neither difficult, nor hazardous to his Majeſty, to remove that reproach, and to be in a place from whence he might advance if there were cauſe, or retire back to *Cologne*, if there were nothing to do; and all this with ſo little noiſe, that his abſence ſhould ſcarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the Meſſenger return'd with the King's approbation of the day, and direction, "That aſſoon as the day ſhould be paſt, an Expreſs "ſhould be directed to *Fluſhing* at the Sign of the City of *Roan* (a known Inn in that Town) "to enquire for an *Engliſh*-man (whoſe name was given him) "who ſhould be able to in-"form him, whither he ſhould repair to ſpeak with the King. *The King approves of the day of Riſing*

Before the Meſſenger's departure, or the King's Reſolution was taken, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who was always jealous that ſome body would be General before him, upon the firſt news of the general diſpoſition and reſolution to be in Arms, deſired the King, "That he would permit him to go "over in diſguiſe, to the end that getting to *London*, which "was very eaſy he might, upon adviſing with the principal "Perſons engaged, of whom there was none who had not "been commanded by him, or was not inferior to him in "Command, aſſiſt them in their enterpriſe, and make the beſt "of that force which they could bring together: and if he "found

"found that they were not in truth competently provided to "sustain the first shock, he might, by his Advice, and Au- "thority, compose them to expect a better conjuncture, and "in the mean time to give over all inconsiderable Attempts; "and there would be little danger in his withdrawing back "again to his Majesty.

The Earl of Rochester *obtains leave of the King to go into* England *in order thereunto.*

WITH this Errand the Earl left *Cologne*, under pretence of pursuing his business with the *German* Princes, upon the Donative of the Diet; for which he used to make many Journies; and no body suspected that he was gone upon any other design. But when he came into *Flanders*, he was not at all reserv'd; but in the hours of good Fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpose to any Body he did believe would keep him Company, and run the same hazard with him; and finding Sr *Joseph Wagstaff*, who had serv'd the King in the last War very honestly, and was then watching at the Sea-Coast to take the first opportunity to Transport himself as soon as he should hear of the general Insurrection (which all Letters to all places mention'd as a matter resolv'd on) *Rochester* frankly declared to him what he was going about: so they hired a Bark at *Dunkirk*; and without any misadventure, found themselves in safety together at *London*; but many of those who should have been in Arms were seised upon, and secured in several Prisons.

Sr Joseph Wagstaff *goes with him.*

The King goes from Cologne *to* Zealand.

THE Messenger being dispatch'd, the King, at the time appointed, and that he might be sure to be near at the day, left *Cologne* very early in the Morning, attended only by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and one Groom to look to their Horses: nor was it known to any Body, but to the Chancellor and the Secretary *Nicholas*, whither the King was gone, they making such relations to inquisitive People, as they thought fit. The day before the King went, Sr *John Mennes*, and *John Nicholas*, eldest Son to the Secretary, were sent into *Zealand*, to stay there till they should receive farther Orders; the former of them being the Person design'd to be at the Sign of the *Roan* in *Flushing*, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the King's hand that should be found necessary, and to keep the Ciphers; both of them Persons of undoubted fidelity.

THERE was a Gentleman who lived in *Middleburg*, and of one of the best Families and the best Fortune there, who had married an *English* Lady, who had been brought up in the Court of the Queen of *Bohemia*, and was the Daughter of a Gentleman of a very noble Family, who had been long an Officer in *Holland*. The King had made this *Dutch*-man a Baronet; and some who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his Majesty might secretly

cretly repoſe himſelf in his Houſe, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be neceſſary for him to be concealed. And his Majeſty being firſt aſſured of this, made His Journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being receiv'd, as he expected, in that Houſe, he gave preſent notice to Sr *John Mennes*, and Mr *Nicholas*, that they might know whither to reſort to his Majeſty upon any occaſion. Upon his firſt arrival there, he receiv'd intelligence, "That the Meſſenger who had been diſpatched from *Cologne*, "met with croſs winds and accidents in his return, which "had been his misfortune likewiſe in his Journey thither; ſo "that he came not ſo ſoon to *London* as was expected; "whereupon ſome conceiv'd that the King did not approve "the day, and therefore excuſed themſelves from appearing "at the time; others were well content with the excuſe ha- "ving diſcern'd with the approach of the day, that they had "Embark'd themſelves in a deſign of more difficulty than was "at firſt apprehended; and ſome were actually ſeiſed upon, "and impriſon'd, by which they were incapable of perform- "ing their promiſe. Though this diſappointment confirm'd the King in his former belief, that nothing ſolid could reſult from ſuch a general combination; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a Poſt where he might ſecurely reſt, to expect what the Earl of *Rocheſter*'s preſence, of whoſe being in *London* he was advertiſed, might produce. And by this time the Chancellor of the Exchequer, according to Order, was come to *Breda*; from whence he every day might hear from, and ſend to the King.

THERE cannot be a greater Manifeſtation of the univerſal prejudice and averſion in the whole Kingdom towards *Cromwell*, and his Government, than that there could be ſo many Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt him, which were communicated to ſo many Men, and that ſuch ſignal and notable Perſons could reſort to *London*, and remain there, without any ſuch information or diſcovery, as might enable him to cauſe them to be apprehended; there being no body intent and zealous to make any ſuch diſcoveries, but ſuch whoſe Trade it was for great Wages to give him thoſe informations, who ſeldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The Earl of *Rocheſter* conſulted with great freedom in *London* with the King's Friends; and found that the Perſons impriſon'd were only taken upon general ſuſpicion, and as being known to be of that Party, not upon any particular diſcovery of what they deſign'd or intended to do; and that the ſame Spirit ſtill poſſeſſed thoſe who were at Liberty. The deſign in *Kent* appear'd not reaſonable, at leaſt not to begin upon, but he was perſwaded (and he was very Credulous) that in the North

North there was a foundation of ſtrong hopes, and a Party ready to appear powerful enough to poſſeſs themſelves of *York*; nor had the Army many Troops in thoſe Parts. In the Weſt likewiſe there appear'd to be a ſtrong Combination, in which many Gentlemen were engaged, whoſe Agents were then in *London*, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day aſſign'd, and deſired no more, than that Sr *Joſeph Wagſtaff* might be Authoriſed to be in the Head of them; who had been well known to them; and he was as ready to engage with them. The Earl of *Rocheſter* liked the countenance of the Noth better; and ſent *Marmaduke Darcy*, a gallant Gentleman, and Nobly Ally'd in thoſe Parts, to prepare the Party there; and appointed a day and place for the Rendezvous; and promiſed to be himſelf there; and was contented that Sr *Joſeph Wagſtaff* ſhould go into the Weſt; who upon conference with thoſe of that Country, likewiſe appointed their Rendezvous upon a fixt day, to be within two Miles of *Saliſbury*. It was an Argument that they had no mean opinion of their ſtrength, that they appointed to appear that very day when the Judges were to keep their Aſſizes in that City, and where the Sheriff, and principal Gentlemen of the County were obliged to give their attendance. Of both theſe reſolutions the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who knew where the King was, took care to advertiſe his Majeſty; who, from hence, had his former faint hopes renew'd; and in a ſhort time after they were ſo improv'd, that he thought of nothing more, than how he might with the greateſt ſecrecy Tranſport himſelf into *England*; for which he did expect a ſuddain occaſion.

The Earl of Rocheſter *deſigns for the North; and* Wagſtaff *into the Weſt.*

Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff* had been formerly Major General of the Foot in the King's Weſtern Army, a Man generally belov'd; and though he was rather for Execution than Counſel, a ſtout Man, who look'd not far before him; yet he had a great Companionableneſs in his Nature, which exceedingly prevail'd with thoſe, who, in the intermiſſion of Fighting, lov'd to ſpend their time in jollity and mirth. He, aſſoon as the day was appointed, left *London*, and went to ſome of his Friends Houſes in the Country, near the place, that he might aſſiſt the Preparations as much as was poſſible. Thoſe of *Hampſhire* were not ſo punctual at their own Rendezvous, as to be preſent at that near *Salisbury* at the hour; however, *Wagſtaff*, and they of *Wiltſhire*, appear'd according to expectation. *Penruddock*, a Gentleman of a fair Fortune, and great zeal and forwardneſs in the Service, *Hugh Grove*, *Jones*, and other Perſons of Condition, were there with a Body of near two hundred Horſe well Arm'd, which, they preſumed would every day be improv'd upon the acceſs of thoſe who had engaged themſelves in the Weſtern Aſſociation, eſpecially after the fame

The Riſing at Saliſbury.

fame of their being up, and effecting any thing, ſhould come to their ears. They accounted that they were already ſtrong enough to viſit *Salisbury* in all its preſent luſtre, knowing that they had many Friends there, and reckoning all that who were not againſt them, were for them; and that they ſhould there increaſe their Numbers both in Foot, and Horſe; with which the Town then abounded: Nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They enter'd the City about five of the Clock in the Morning: they appointed ſome Officers, of which they had plenty, to cauſe all the Stables to be locked up, that all the Horſes might be at their devotion; others, to break open the Goals, that all there might attend their Benefactors: They kept a good Body of Horſe upon the Market-place, to encounter all oppoſition; and gave order to apprehend the Judges and the Sheriff, who were yet in their Beds, and to bring them into the Market-place with their ſeveral Commiſſions, not caring to ſeiſe upon the Perſons of any others.

ALL this was done with ſo little noiſe and diſorder, as if the Town had been all of one mind. They who were within doors, except they were commanded to come out, ſtayed ſtill there, being more deſirous to hear than to ſee what was done; very many being well pleaſed, and not willing that others ſhould diſcern it in their Countenance. When the Judges were brought out in their Robes, and humbly produced their Commiſſions, and the Sheriff likewiſe, *Wagſtaff* reſolv'd after he had cauſed the King to be proclaim'd, to cauſe them all three to be hang'd (who were half dead already) having well conſider'd with the Policy which Men in ſuch Actions are naturally poſſeſſed with, how he himſelf ſhould be uſed if he were under their hands, chooſing therefore to be before-hand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this before-hand with his Friends, whereby their ſcrupulous Conſciences might have been confirm'd, many of the Country Gentlemen were ſo ſtartled with this propoſition, that they proteſted againſt it; and poor *Penruddock* was ſo paſſionate to preſerve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the Major General durſt not perſiſt in it; but was prevail'd with to diſmiſs the Judges, and, having taken their Commiſſions from them, to oblige them upon another occaſion to remember to whom they ow'd their lives, reſolving ſtill to hang the Sheriff; who poſitively, though humbly, and with many tears, refuſed to proclaim the King; which being otherwiſe done, they likewiſe prevail'd with him rather to keep the Sheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honeſter Man out of the hands of their Enemies. This ſeem'd an ill omen to their future agreement, and ſubmiſſion to the Commands of their General; nor was the ten-

derheartedneſs ſo general, but that very many of the Gentlemen were much ſcandaliſed at it, both as it were a contradiction to their Commander in Chief; and as it would have been a ſeaſonable Act of ſeverity to have cemented thoſe to perſeverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the ſharpneſs of their Swords.

THE Noiſe of this Action was very great both in and out of the Kingdom, whither it was quickly ſent. Without doubt it was a bold enterpriſe, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been proſecuted with the ſame reſolution, or the ſame raſhneſs, it was enter'd into. All that was reaſonable in the general contrivance of inſurrection and commotion over the whole Kingdom, was founded upon a ſuppoſition of the diviſion and faction in the Army; which was known to be ſo great, that it was thought *Cromwell* durſt not draw the whole Army to a general Rendezvous, out of apprehenſion that when they ſhould once meet together, he ſhould no longer be maſter of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place ſuch a Body brought together as might oblige *Cromwell* to make the Army, or a conſiderable part of it to march, there would at leaſt be no diſpoſition in them to fight to ſtrengthen his Authority, which they abhorr'd. And many did at that time believe, that if they had remain'd with that Party at *Salisbury* for ſome days, which they might well have done without any diſturbance, their Numbers would have much increaſed, and their Friends farther Weſt muſt have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been neceſſary by a ſtronger part of the Armies marching againſt them. *Cromwell* himſelf was alarmed; he knew well the diſtemper of the Kingdom, and in his Army, and now when he ſaw ſuch a Body gather'd together without any noiſe, that durſt in the middle of the Kingdom, enter into one of the chief Cities of it, when his Judges and all the Civil power of that Country was in it, and take them Priſoners, and proclaim the King in a time of full Peace, and when no Man durſt ſo much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that ſuch an enterpriſe could be undertaken without a univerſal conſpiracy; in which his own Army could not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to truſt them together. But all this apprehenſion vaniſh'd, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had perform'd this exploit, they left the Town with very ſmall encreaſe or addition to their numbers.

The unfortunate Iſſue of it.

THE truth is, they did nothing reſolutely after their firſt Action; and were in ſuch diſorder, and diſcontent between themſelves, that without ſtaying for their Friends out of *Hampſhire* (who were to the number of two or three hundred Horſe,

Horſe, upon their way, and would have been at *Salisbury* that Night) upon pretence that they were expected in *Dorſetſhire*, they left the Town, and took the Sheriff with them, about two of the Clock in the Afternoon: but were ſo weary of their day's Labour, and their watching the Night before, that they grew leſs in love with what they were about, and differ'd again amongſt themſelves about the Sheriff; whom many deſired to be preſently releaſed; and that Party carried it in hope of receiving good Offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march Weſtward. They from *Hampſhire*, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving *Salisbury*, would not follow, but ſcatter'd themſelves; and they who were before them, and heard in what diſorder they had left *Wiltſhire*, likewiſe diſperſed: ſo that after they had continued their Journey into *Devonſhire*, without meeting any who would joyn with them, Horſe and Men were ſo tired for want of meat and ſleep, that one ſingle Troop of Horſe, inferior in number, and commanded by an Officer, of no credit in the War, being in thoſe parts by chance, followed them at a diſtance, till they were ſo ſpent, that he rather intreated than compell'd them to deliver themſelves; ſome, and amongſt thoſe *Wagſtaff*, quitted their Horſes, and found ſhelter in ſome honeſt Men's Houſes; where they were conceal'd till opportunity ſerv'd to Tranſport them into the parts beyond the Seas, where they arriv'd ſafely. But Mr *Penruddock*, Mr *Grove*, and moſt of the reſt, were taken Priſoners, upon promiſe given by the Officer that their Lvies ſhould be ſaved; which they quickly found he had no Authority to make good. For *Cromwell* no ſooner heard of his cheap Victory, than he ſent Judges away with a new commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, and Order to proceed with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the Offenders. But *Roles*, his Chief Juſtice, who had ſo luckily eſcaped at *Salisbury*, had not recover'd the fright; and would no more look thoſe Men in the Face who had dealt ſo kindly with him; but expreſly refuſed to be employ'd in the ſervice, raiſing ſome ſcruples in point of Law, whether the Men could be legally condemned; upon which *Cromwell*, ſhortly after, turn'd him out of his Office, having found others who executed his Commands. *Penruddock*, and *Grove*, loſt their heads at *Exeter*; and others were hanged there; who having recover'd the faintneſs they were in when they render'd, died with great courage and reſolution, profeſſing their Duty and Loyalty to the King: many were ſent to *Salisbury*, and tryed and executed there, in the place where they had ſo lately triumphed; and ſome who were condemn'd, where there were Fathers, and Sons, and Brothers, that the Butchery might appear with ſome remorſe, were repriev'd, and ſold, and ſent

Slaves to the *Barbadoes*; where their treatment was such, that few of them ever return'd into their own Country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and enflamed all the Kingdom, was for the present extinguish'd in the West; and *Cromwell* secured without the help of his Army; which he saw, by the Countenance it then shew'd when they thought he should have use of them, it was high time to reform; and in that he resolv'd to use no longer delay.

The ill success likewise of the design in the North.

THE Design of the North, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made less noise, and expired more peaceably. The Earl of *Rochester*, who saw danger at a distance with great courage, and look'd upon it less resolutely when it was nearer, made his Journey from *London*, with a Friend or two, into *York-shire* at the time appointed; and found such an appearance of Gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deserv'd his patience. There had been some mistake in the Notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were absent, that, if he would appoint another short day for a Rendezvous, he should be well attended. *Marmaduke Darcy* had spent his time very well amongst them, and found them well disposed, and there could be no danger in staying the time proposed, many of them having Houses, where he might be well concealed, and the Country generally wish'd well to the King, and to those who concern'd themselves in his Affairs. But he took many exceptions; complain'd, as if they had deceiv'd him; and asked many Questions, which were rather reasonable than seasonable, and which would have furnish'd reasons against entring upon the design, which were not to be urged now when they were to execute, and when indeed they seem'd to have gone too far to retire. He had not yet heard of the ill Success at *Salisbury*; yet he did not think the force which the Gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any opposition, sufficient to enter upon any Action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: So he resolv'd to stay no longer; the Gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good Will to each other, the Earl returning through by-roads to *London*, which was the securest place, from whence he gave the King notice of the hopelessness of Affairs. If he had not been a Man very fortunate in disguises, he could never have escaped so many perambulations. For as he was the least wary in making his Journies in safe hours, so he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and enter'd into Conferences with any Strangers he met, or joyn'd with.

The Earl of Rochester returns to London; whence he advises the King of the ill success.

WHEN

WHEN he return'd from the North, he lodged at *Aylesbury*; and having been obſerv'd to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the Town, of which he ſeem'd to take ſome Survey, and had ask'd many queſtions of a Country Fellow who was there (that ground in truth belonging to his own Wife) the next Juſtice of Peace had notice of it; who being a Man devoted to the Government, and all that Country very ill affected always to the King, and the News of *Salisbury*, and the Proclamation thereupon, having put all Men upon their Guard, came himſelf to the Inn where the Earl was; and being inform'd, that there were only two Gentlemen above at Supper (for Sr *Nicholas Armorer* was likewiſe with the Earl, and had accompanied him in that Journey) he went into the Stable; and upon view of the Horſes found they were the ſame which had been obſerv'd in the Ground. The Juſtice commanded the keeper of the Inn, one *Gilvy*, who, beſides that he was a Perſon notoriouſly affected to the Government, was likewiſe an Officer, "That he "ſhould not ſuffer thoſe Horſes, nor the Perſons to whom "they belonged, to go out of the Houſe, till he, the ſaid "Juſtice, came thither in the Morning; when he would exa- "mine the Gentlemen, who they were, and from whence "they came. The Earl was quickly advertiſed of all that paſſed below, and enough apprehenſive of what muſt follow in the Morning. Whereupon he preſently ſent for the Maſter of the Houſe, and no Body being preſent but his Companion, he told him, "He would put his Life into his hands; "Which he might deſtroy or preſerve: That he could get no- "thing by the one, but by the other he ſhould have profit, and "the good Will of many Friends, who might be able to do him "good. Then he told him who he was; and as an earneſt of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty *Jacobus*'s, and a fair Gold Chain, which was more worth to be ſold than one hundred pounds. Whether the Man was moved by the reward, which he might have poſſeſſed without deſerving it, or by generoſity, or by wiſdom and foreſight, for he was a Man of very good Underſtanding, and might conſider the Changes which follow'd after, and in which this Service prov'd of advantage to him, he did reſolve to permit and contrive their Eſcapes: And though he thought fit to be accountable to the Juſtice for their Horſes, yet he cauſed two other as good for their purpoſe, of his own, to be made ready by a truſty Servant in another Stable; who, about Midnight, Conducted them into *London*-way; which put them in Safety. The Inn-keeper was viſited in the Morning by the Juſtice; whom, he carried into the Stable, where the Horſes ſtill ſtood, he having ſtill kept

An accident that befell him in his return.

kept the Key in his own Pocket, not making any doubt of the Persons whilst he kept their Horses; but the Inn-Keeper confessed they were Escaped out of his House in the Night, how or whither he could not imagine. The Justice threaten'd loud; but the Inn-keeper was of that unquestionable Fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his Affection to the Common-wealth, that *Cromwell* more suspected the connivance of the Justice (who ought not to have deferr'd the examination of the Persons till the Morning) than the Integrity of a Man so well known, as the Inn-keeper was. The Earl remain'd in *London* whilst the enquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for *Flanders*; and so return'd to *Cologne*.

The King leaves Zeeland; and returns to Cologne.

ASSOON as the King receiv'd Advertisement of the ill Successes in *England*, and that all their hopes were for the present blasted there, he left *Zeeland*, and returning by *Breda* staid in a Dorp near the Town, till the Chancellor of the Exchequer attended him; and then return'd with all speed to *Cologne*; where his little Court was quickly gather'd together again, and better disposed to sit still, and expect God's own time. His Majesty was exceedingly afflicted with the loss of so many honest Gentlemen in *England*, who had engaged themselves so desperately, not only without, but expressly against his Majesty's Judgment: And he was the more troubled, because he was from several of his Friends from thence advertised, "That all his Counsels were discover'd; and that "*Cromwell* had perfect intelligence of whatsoever his Majesty "resolv'd to do, and of all he said Himself; so that it would "not be safe for any Body to correspond with him, or to med-"dle in his Affairs or Concernments: That his coming into "*Zeeland*, and his continuance there, was known to *Crom-*"*well*, with all the particulars of his Motion; that many Per-"sons of Condition were seised upon, and imprison'd for ha-"ving a design to possess themselves of some Towns, and "Places of strength; which intelligence could not be given "but from *Cologne*; implying, "That the miscarriage in all "the last designs, proceeded wholly from the Treason of "some Persons near his Majesty. The King did not at all wonder that *Cromwell*, and his Instruments, took great pains to make it generally be believ'd, that they knew all that was resolv'd or thought of at *Cologne*; but that any Men who were really devoted to his Service, and who had kindness and esteem for all those who were trusted by his Majesty, should be wrought upon to believe those reports, very much disturbed him.

WHILST he was in this Agony, and immediately after his return to *Cologne*, a discovery was made of a Villany, that made

made him excuſe his Friends in *England* for their Jealouſy, and yet compoſed his own mind from any fear of being betray'd, it being an Impoſture of ſuch a Nature, as was dangerous and ridiculous together. There was one *Manning*, a proper young Gentleman, bred a Roman Catholick in the Family of the Marquis of *Worceſter*, whoſe Page he had been. His Father of that Religion likewiſe, had been a Colonel in the King's Army; and was ſlain at the Battle of *Alresford*; where this young Man, being then a Youth, was hurt, and maim'd in the left Arm and Shoulder. This Gentleman came to *Cologne* ſhortly after the King came thither firſt, and pretended, "That he had ſold the incumber'd Fortune his Father "had left him; upon which he had enough to maintain him, "and reſolv'd to ſpend it in waiting upon the King, till his "Majeſty ſhould be able to raiſe an Army; in which he hoped "to have an opportunity to revenge his Father's Blood; with many diſcourſes of that Nature; and he brought a Letter to Dr *Earles* from his Uncle *Manning*, who was well known to him, to commend his Nephew to his converſation. He was a handſome Man, had ſtore of good Cloaths, and plenty of Money; which, with the memory of his Father, eaſily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the Company that was there. He knew moſt of the King's Party in *England*, and ſpoke as if he were much truſted by them, and held correſpondence with them; and had every Week the Diurnal, and the News of *London*, which ſeldom elſe came ſo far as *Cologne*. He aſſociated himſelf moſt with the good-fellows, and eat in their Company, being well provided for the expence. By degrees he inſinuated himſelf with the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and told him "That all the King's Party look'd upon him, as "the General who muſt Govern and Command them; for "which they were very impatient: That he himſelf would be "ready to run his Fortune, and attend him into *England*; "and that he had two hundred good Men liſted, who would "appear well Mounted and Armed, whenever he ſhould re-"quire them; and that he knew where good Sums of Money "lay ready to be applied to that Service. The Earl was raviſh'd with this diſcourſe, and look'd upon him as a Man ſent from Heaven to advance his deſigns; and ask'd him, "Whe-"ther he had been with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and "communicated all this to him? He ſaid "He had, at his firſt "coming to Town, waited upon the Chancellor; and intend-"ed to have ſpoken of this, and much more than he had yet "ſpoken, if he had been vacant, or willing to hear: but he "ſeem'd to him too reſerv'd; which he imputed then to ſome "buſineſs that poſſeſſed him, and therefore made him a ſecond "viſit; when he found him with the ſame warineſs, and with-

The diſcovery of the Treachery of Manning, and a particular account of it.

"out a desire to be inform'd by him concerning the Affairs of "that Kingdom; so that he resolv'd to visit him no more.

In the end, he told the Earl, "That he would impart a "secret to him of the last importance, and which he had not "yet had opportunity to inform the King of, and, he did be- "lieve, it would be the same thing to impart it to his Lord- "ship as to his Majesty himself: The Sum was, that he was "trusted by the young Earl of *Pembroke*, whose Affections "were entire for his Majesty, to assure the King of the same; "and that though it would not be safe for him to appear in "the head, and beginning of an Insurrection, he would ad- "vance it as much as if he were there in Person; and be- "cause he knew the West was better prepared to begin the "Work than any other part of the Kingdom, he had caused "three thousand pounds to be laid aside, and kept ready at "*Wilton*, which should be deliver'd to any Man, who, in the "King's Name, should require it of such a Man (naming a "Person, who was known to be much trusted by that Earl) "upon delivery of a private Token he produced out of his "Pocket (which was a clean piece of Paper, sealed with three impressions of an Antick Head in hard Wax) "Which, he said, "The Earl requir'd him to present to the King when he "thought it might be seasonable. He added, "That he would "be glad to be himself in that first Engagement, and so to be "present when that Token should be deliver'd; yet he consi- "der'd, that he was not enough known to have such a Secret "imparted to him, as the time of such an Action ought to be; "and therefore, if it pleased the King, he would presently de- "liver that Token into his Lordship's hands; who, he was "confident, would be the first that would have opportunity to "employ it.

The Earl had the Journey then in his head, which he made shortly after; and thought such a Treasure as this would much advance the Service. He made haste to inform the King of the whole, that he might have his approbation to receive the Token. To that purpose, he brought the Man to the King; who had never before taken other notice of him, than for his bringing the Diurnal constantly to be read to his Majesty after Dinner, or Supper, as he receiv'd it. He made a large Relation to the King of what the Earl of *Pembroke* had commanded him to say, and presented the Token to his Majesty for the three thousand pounds; the manner of his discourse being such, as the King had not the least suspicion of the truth of it. Assoon as he left the King, the Earl brought him to the Chancellor, conjuring him to use him with great kindness and gently reproaching him for his want of Courtesy to him before, which he wonder'd at; for it was very true that

Manning

Manning had visited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had receiv'd him with as much Civility as was possible, having known his Father, and most of his Family, and was glad to see him frequently at Prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman Catholick; and the young Man had seem'd much pleased with the Reception he had given him. But from the time that he made that Relation concerning the Earl of *Pembroke*, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the King, the Chancellor always suspected him; and could not prevail with himself to have any familiarity with him; which the other complain'd heavily of, and the Chancellor was much reproach'd for not treating a Person of so much Merit, who had lost his Father and had been himself maim'd in the King's Service, with more openness; for he did always use him with all necessary Civility. But the Chancellor's knowledge of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and of the humour that then possessed him, and of the uneasiness of his own Fortune, which did not make him at that time Master of much Money, besides that he believ'd that, if the thing were true, he should have receiv'd advertisement sooner of it from a Person who was most trusted by the Earl, and who corresponded very constantly with the Chancellor, made him distrust him. He therefore told the King, "That he doubted *Man-*"*ning* had made that part of the story to make himself the "more welcome; which his Majesty did not think was a reasonable jealousy; but wish'd him to use all the means he could to discover the truth. The Chancellor had no farther suspicion of him than upon the account of that story, nor the least apprehension that he was a Spy.

WHEN it was publickly known that the King was absent from *Cologne*, at that time that he made his Journey to *Zeeland*, in the manner that is mention'd before, the Earl of *Rochester* being departed from thence some time before, Mr *Manning* appear'd wonderfully troubled, and complain'd to some, "That he being entrusted by all the King's Friends, who "would not credit any Orders but such as should pass through "his hands, the King was now gone without imparting it to "him; which would be the ruin of his design. He went to the Chancellor, and lamented himself, "That there should be "any Sword drawn in *England* before His; his Father's Blood "boiled within him and kept him from sleep. He desired him therefore, "That he would so far communicate the design "to him, that he might only know to what part of *England* "to Transport himself, that he might be in Action as soon as "might be possible. He could draw nothing from the Chancellor; who told him, "That he knew of no probability of "any Action; and therefore could give no advice. Upon which

which he complain'd much of the Chancellor's want of kindneſs to him: But he loſt no time in following the King; and having great acquaintance with *Herbert Price*, a Man much truſted by the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and that affected to know, or to be thought to know the greateſt Secrets, he prevailed upon him, upon bearing his Charges, to accompany him, that they might find out where the King was, at leaſt that they might be ready on the Sea Coaſt to Tranſport themſelves into *England* upon the firſt occaſion. Whether by accident, or that the Earl of *Rocheſter* had made any mention of *Zeeland* to Mr *Price*, thither they both came; and ſeeing Sr *John Mennes*, and Mr *Nicholas* there, they believ'd there might likewiſe be others of their *Cologne* Friends. *Herbert Price*, as he was a Man of a very Inquiſitive Nature, watched ſo narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the King in an Evening, when he uſed to walk to take a little Air after the days confinement. The King, ſince he was diſcover'd, thought it beſt to truſt him; and charged him "Not only to make no "diſcovery, but to remove out of the Iſland, leſt his being "ſeen there, might raiſe ſuſpicion in other Men. He did very importunately deſire the King that he might bring *Manning* to ſpeak with him, as not only an honeſt Man (as no doubt he thought him to be) but a Man of that importance and truſt, as might contribute much to his preſent Service. But the King would by no means admit him, nor did he ſee him; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his Majeſty concluded that *Cromwell* came to be inform'd of his being in *Zeeland*, without any reproach to Mr *Price*'s Fidelity; which was not ſuſpected, though his preſumption, and importunity, were always very inconvenient.

SHORTLY after the King's return to *Cologne*, *Manning* likewiſe came thither with his accuſtom'd confidence. And in this time the Chancellor receiv'd Advertiſement from *England*, "That he had no kind of truſt from the Earl of *Pem-* "*broke*, but on the contrary, had been turn'd out of his Ser- "vice upon matter of diſhoneſty; and that he was a looſe "Perſon of no Reputation: and his Majeſty was inform'd by others from *Antwerp*, "That every Poſt brought many Let- "ters for him, which were taken up there, and tranſmitted "to *Cologne*; and that he had Letters of Credit upon a Mer- "chant of *Antwerp* for good Sums of Money. All this raiſed a ſuſpicion in the King; who gave direction to a Truſty Perſon, who was purpoſely ſent to take up all thoſe Letters at *Antwerp*, which were ſent thither from *England* for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewiſe thoſe which were ſent from *Cologne* by him, his addreſs being likewiſe diſcover'd. By this means the Party return'd with many great

great Packets both from, and to him; which being open'd, and read, adminiſter'd matter of great amazement. There were Letters from *Thurlow*, *Cromwell*'s Secretary and Principal Miniſter, containing the ſatisfaction the Protector receiv'd in the particular Intelligence he receiv'd from him, with ſhort Inſtructions how he ſhould behave himſelf. The Perſon employ'd had been ſo dextrous, that he brought with him *Manning*'s Letters of three Poſts, all full of the moſt particular things done at *Cologne*; and the particular words ſaid by the King and Others, that muſt needs affect thoſe who ſhould receive the Intelligence; but of all which there was nothing true; no ſuch action had been done, no ſuch word ſpoken.

In one Letter, after ſuch Information as he thought fit, he ſaid, "That by the next he ſhould ſend ſuch advice as was of "much more moment than he had ever yet ſent, and above "what he had given from *Zeeland*, and by which they might "ſee, that there was nothing ſo ſecret at *Cologne*, of which he "could not be inform'd, if he had Money enough; and therefore deſir'd the Bill for the thouſand Crowns might be diſpatched. Together with this, the Letter of the ſubſequent Poſt was likewiſe ſeiſed upon; and by his Method, which was afterwards diſcover'd, it was very probable that they were both ſent at one and the ſame time, and by the ſame Poſt, though they were of ſeveral dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was encloſed an Overture or Deſign for the ſurpriſe and taking of *Plymouth*; in which there was a very exact and true deſcription of the Town and Fort, and Iſland, and the preſent Strength and Force that was there. Then a Propoſition, that a Veſſel with five hundred Men (there were no more deſired) ſhould come to ſuch a place (a Creek deſcrib'd) and upon a ſign then given, ſuch a place in the Town ſhould be firſt ſeiſed upon, whilſt the others ſhould poſſeſs both the Fort, and the Iſland. The Names of the Perſons who undertook to do both the one, and the other, were likewiſe ſet down, and they were all Men known to be well affected to the King, who, with the aſſiſtance of that five hundred Men, might indeed be able to Maſter the Place. For the better going through the Work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that Sr *Hugh Pollard*, and other Perſons named, who were all notable Men for their Zeal to the King's Service, ſhould be ready from the *Devon-ſhire* ſide, as Colonel *Arundel* and others from *Cornwal*, to ſecond and ſupport what was to be done.

The Letter inform'd, "That when the King deliver'd that "Paper to the Council (which he ſaid, "He had receiv'd "from a very good hand; and then the Marquis of *Ormond* made this, and this objection, and others found this, and that difficulty

difficulty in the Execution of the Enterprise, all which the Chancellor answer'd very clearly, and the King himself said very much of the easiness of the Undertaking) "There was "one difficulty urged, that the King himself appear'd to be "startled at, and looked upon the Chancellor; who arose "from his place, and went to the King's Chair, and whisper'd "somewhat in his Ear. Whereupon his Majesty told the "Lords, that he had indeed forgot somewhat that the Chan- "cellor put him in mind of, and for that particular they should "refer the care of it to Him, who would take it upon him, "and so the matter was resolv'd, and the Earl of *Rochester* un- "dertook for the five hundred Men, and their Transportation. *Manning* concluded, "That if he had Money, they should "know constantly how this design should be advanced, or "any other set on foot. Every Body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one syllable of truth. There had never such a Proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse. There were in his Letter many vain insinuations of his Interest, as if he were never out of the King's Company. Two of the King's Servants were sent to seise upon his Person, and his Papers; who found him in his Chamber writing, and his Cipher and Papers before him; all which they possessed themselves of without any resistance. There were several Letters prepared, and made up with the dates proper for many Posts to come, with information, and intelligence, of the same nature as the former.

THE Secretary of State, and one of the Lords of the Council, were sent to examine him; to whom he confessed, without any reserve, "That the necessity of his Fortune had ex- "posed him to that base Condition of Life; and, to make "himself fit for it, he had dissembled his Religion; for, he "said, he remain'd still a Catholick: That he was sent over by "*Thurlow* to be a Spy wherever the King should be, and had "constantly sent him Intelligence, for which he had receiv'd "good Sums of Money; yet, that he had been so troubled in "Mind for the vileness of the Life he led, that he was resolv'd "by raising great expectations in them, to draw a good Sum "of Money from them; and then to renounce farther cor- "respondence, and to procure the King's Pardon, and faith- "fully to serve him. Being ask'd, why he made such rela- tions, which had no truth in them, he answer'd, "That if he "had come to the knowledge of any thing which in truth had "concern'd the King, he would never have discover'd it; "but he thought it would do no prejudice to the King, if he "got Money from the Rebels by sending them Lies, which "could neither do them good, nor hurt his Majesty; and "therefore all his care was to amuse them with particulars,

"which

"which he knew would pleaſe them; and ſo when he was "alone he always prepared Letters containing ſuch things as "occurr'd to his Invention, to be ſent by the ſucceeding Poſts, "and that he had never written any thing that was true, but "of his Majeſty's being in *Zeeland*; which, he believ'd, could "produce no prejudice to him.

THE King now diſcern'd from whence all the Apprehenſions of his Friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their Jealouſies; for though none of his Councels had been diſcover'd, they who had receiv'd thoſe Letters, might reaſonably think that none of them were concealed; and might well brag to their Confidents of their knowing all that the King did. By this means, ſuch particulars were tranſmitted to the King's Friends, as could not but very much amuſe them, and no doubt, was the cauſe of the commitment of very many Perſons, and of ſome who had no purpoſe to ſuffer for their Loyalty. His Majeſty took care to publiſh the Tranſactions of this Man, with the Method of the Intelligence he gave; by which his Friends diſcern'd with what ſhadows they had been affrighted, and his Enemies likewiſe diſcover'd what current Ware they had receiv'd for their Money: yet they endeavour'd to have it believ'd that he was not a Man ſent over by Them, but a Secretary in great Truſt about ſome Perſon employ'd, whom they had corrupted: in which Men were likewiſe quickly undeceiv'd, and knew that he was a Man without any dependence or relation to, or countenance from the Court: and the Wretch ſoon after, receiv'd the reward due to his Treaſon.

Cromwell's advantage by the Risings of the King's Party.

AS the King's hopes were much Eclipſed in *England* by the late unſeaſonable Attempt, and the loſs of ſo many gallant Perſons, as periſh'd or were undone in it; ſo *Cromwell* advanced his own credit, and was very much enriched by it, and more confirm'd with thoſe who were of doubtful Faith towards him. He lay before under the reproach of diviſing Plots himſelf, that the Common-Wealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excuſe to continue ſo Vaſt Forces ſtill in pay. Whereas it now appear'd how Active, and confident the King's Party ſtill was, and that they would not have had the preſumption to make ſo bold an Attempt in the middle of the Kingdom, if they had not had good Aſſurance of being ſeconded; and therefore they were to look upon the Fire as only raked up, not extinguiſhed. The Succeſs and Triumph of a few deſperate Perſons at *Salisbury*, that had produced ſuch a Conſternation thoughout the Kingdom, and would have endanger'd the ſecurity of the whole Weſt, if there had not happen'd ſome accidental confuſion amongſt the Undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet Force ſufficient to provide

provide for the Safety of the Kingdom; and therefore that it was neceſſary to make better proviſion for the quiet of every County, that it might not be endanger'd by every bold Attempt: and the Charge that this neceſſary Defence would cauſe, ſhould in Juſtice be borne by thoſe who were the Occaſion of the Expence.

His Order for Decimating the King's Party.

THEREUPON he made by his own Authority, and that of his Council, an Order, "That all thoſe who had ever borne "Arms for the King, or had declared themſelves to be of "the Royal Party ſhould be decimated, that is, pay a tenth "part of all that Eſtate which they had left, to ſupport the "Charge which the Common-wealth was put to, by the un-"quietneſs of their Temper, and the juſt Cauſe of Jealouſy "which they had adminiſter'd. And that the Publick might loſe nothing of what he had ſo frankly given to it, Commiſſioners were appointed in every County, to value what the tenth part of every ſuch Eſtate did amount to; and that no Man might have too good a bargain of his own; every Man was obliged to pay as much as thoſe Commiſſioners judged fit; and till he paid it, beſides Impriſonment, which was a judgment apart, and inflicted once or twice a year, as the Jealouſies wrought, his whole Eſtate was ſequeſter'd. And in this decimation there was no conſideration taken of former Compoſitions, of any Articles of War, or of any Acts of pardon and indemnity, which had been granted under their great Seal, without enquiry into their Actions, or ſo much as accuſing any of them of any crime or guilt, or of having any Correſpondence with the King, or any body truſted by him; or that they were in any degree privy to the late deſigns or inſurrection.

His Declaration to juſtify it.

THAT this Order might be ſubmitted to, and executed, He publiſh'd a Declaration to make the Juſtice, as well as the Neceſſity of that proceeding appear; in which he did not only ſet down the grounds of his preſent proceeding againſt the Royal Party, but the Rules by which he meant to proceed againſt any other Party that ſhould provoke, or give him trouble. It was a Declaration worded and digeſted with much more aſperity againſt all who had ſerv'd the King, than had ever been before publiſhed. Great Caution had been hitherto uſed, as if nothing more had been deſign'd than to unite the whole Nation in the joynt defence of the Common Intereſt, and as if a reſolution had been taken to have aboliſhed all Marks of diſunion and diſtinction of Parties, and that all Men, of what Condition ſoever (except thoſe who had been always excepted by Name) who would ſubmit to the Government, ſhould be admitted to have ſhares, and to act parts in the Adminiſtration and defence of it. But now notice was taken

taken of "Such an inherent Malignity, and irreconcileableneſs "in all thoſe who from the beginning had adhered to the King, "and oppoſed the proceedings of the Parliament, towards all "thoſe who had ſerv'd their Country, and vindicated the In- "tereſt of the People and Nation, that they declin'd the com- "mon Rules of Civility, and would have no Converſation "with them; and, that the ſame Malice and Animoſity might "deſcend to their Poſterity, they would not make Marriages, "or any Friendſhip or Alliance with thoſe who had been ſe- "parated, or divided from them in thoſe Publick differences; "and therefore they were not hereafter to wonder, or com- "plain, if they were looked upon as a Common Enemy, "which muſt be kept from being able to do Miſchief; ſince "they would always be willing to do all they could; and that "they were not to expect to be proſecuted, like other Men, "by the ordinary forms of Juſtice, and to have their Crimes "to be prov'd by Witneſſes, before they ſhould be concluded "to be Guilty. If any deſperate Attempts were undertaken "by any of that Party to diſturb the Publick Peace, that it "would be reaſonable to conclude that they all wiſhed well "to it, though they appear'd not to own it: that all Con- "ſpiracies of that nature were acted in ſecret, and were deeds "of darkneſs, and Men might juſtly be ſuſpected and pro- "ceeded againſt as privy to them, by their common diſcourſes, "by the Company they uſually kept, and by their very looks; with many other expreſſions, of ſuch an unuſual nature in the diſquiſition of Juſtice, and legal proceedings, that the King's Party might reaſonably conclude, they had nothing left that they could call their own, but muſt expect a total Extirpation, either by Maſſacre, or Tranſplantation.

But then the Declaration took notice likewiſe of "The "factions in the Army, that would not acquieſce in the Go- "vernment eſtabliſh'd; but would have another found out, "and form'd according to their Levelling humours; all which "diſtractions, to what other ends ſoever directed, muſt ſo "weaken the Common-wealth, if not wiſely prevented, as it "muſt in the end be expoſed as a Prey to their inveterate "Enemies; and therefore, that the ſame remedies muſt be "apply'd to Them, as to the others; with intimation clear enough, "That the connivance they had formerly receiv'd, "and even the Pardons that had been granted for their for- "mer Mutinies and Tranſgreſſions, were of no more validity "than the Articles, Promiſes, and Acts of Indemnity, which "had been granted to the Royal Party: all which were de- "clared to be void and null, upon any ſucceeding Delin- "quency: ſo that all diſcontented People who liked not the preſent Government, what part ſoever they had acted in the pulling

pulling down the old, whether Presbyterian, Independent, or Leveller, were left to consider of the consequence of those Maxims there laid down; and might naturally conclude, that they were in no better condition of security for what they enjoy'd, and had purchased dearly, than those who by their help were brought to the lowest misery; though for the present, none but the King's Party underwent that insupportable burden of Decimation; which brought a vast incredible Sum of Money into *Cromwell's* Coffers, the greater part whereof was raised (which was a kind of pleasure, though not ease to the rest) upon those who never did, nor ever would have given the King the least assistance, and were only reputed to be of his Party because they had not assisted the Rebels with a visible chearfulness, or in any considerable proportion; and had proposed to themselves to sit still as Neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either Party; or such who had shelter'd themselves in some of the King's Garrisons for their own conveniency.

The King caused an Answer to be made to it.

THIS Declaration was sent to *Cologne*; where the King caused an Answer to be made to it upon the grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it were made by one who had been always of the Parliament side, and who was well pleased to see the Cavaliers reduced to that extremity; but with such reflections upon the Tyranny that was exercised over the Kingdom, and upon the foulness of the breach of Trust the Protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the Nation to look upon him as a detestable Enemy, who was to be remov'd by any way that offer'd it self; many of which arguments were made use of against him in the next Parliament that he call'd; which was not long after.

THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XV.

Ezra III. 26.

And I will make thy Tongue cleave to the roof of thy Mouth, that thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be to them a Reprover; for they are a Rebellious House.

Hosea X. 3.

For now they shall say, We have no King, because We feared not the Lord; what then shall a King do to Us?

Hab. I. 10.

And they shall scoff at the Kings, and the Princes shall be a scorn unto them.

THE King remain'd at *Cologne* above two years, contending with the rigour of his Fortune with great Temper and Magnanimity; whilst all the Princes of *Europe* seem'd to contend amongst themselves, who should most eminently forget and neglect him; and whilst *Cromwell* exercised all imaginable Tyranny over those Nations, who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his Majesty's Father's peaceable, and mild Government: so that, if the King's Nature could have been delighted to behold the Oppressions his Rebellious Subjects endured in all the three Nations, he might have had abundant comfort, and pleasure of this kind in all of them: first, in seeing *Scotland*, which first threw off, wantonly, it's own peace and plenty, and infected the other two

The King stayed at Cologne above two years.

The Condition of Scotland under Cromwell.

two Kingdoms with its Rebellion, now reduced, and govern'd by a rod of Iron; vanquish'd and subdued by those whom they had taught the Science of Rebellion, and with whom they had joyn'd, by specious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to destroy their own Natural Prince, and dissolve the Regal Government, to which they had been subject ever since they were a Nation: in seeing the pride and insolence of that People, which had used to practice such ill manners towards their King, suppressed, condemned, and exposed to slavery under the discipline, and castigation of Men who were very few of them born Gentlemen, but bred up in the Trades and Professions of Common Men. These Men govern'd in their Houses, and prescribed new Laws to them to live by, which they had never been accustom'd to, yet were compell'd to obey, upon penalty of their Lives, and Estates; whilst their adored Idol, Presbytery, which had pull'd off the Crown from the head of the King, was trod under foot, and laughed at; and their Preachers, who had threaten'd their Princes with their rude thunder of Excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by Artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a Corporal; and all this Subjection supported at their own charge, their fierce Governours being paid by them out of their own Estates.

Of Ireland. He then beheld *Ireland*, that begun its Rebellion with inhumane Massacres, and Butcheries of their peaceable and innocent Neighbours, after the other of *Scotland* was suppressed, or so compounded, that the blessing of Peace had again cover'd the three Nations, if this sottish People had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody Prologue engaged again the three Kingdoms in a raging and devouring war; so that though *Scotland* blew the first Trumpet, it was *Ireland* that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebell'd, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries which afterwards befell the King, and his Dominions, had been prevented. These unhappy People, when they saw that they could not make War, but were beaten as often as encounter'd, would not yet make Peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of Treachery, and Perjury that can make any foul Action the most odious. And after they had, for their last preservation return'd to their obedience to the King, and put themselves again under his Protection, they quickly repented of their Loyalty, offer'd themselves to the Soveraignty of a Forreign Prince; and when they had seen their natural King Murder'd by his other Rebels, for want of that Assistance which they might have given him, chose rather to depend on the clemency of the Usurper, driving from them

them the Governour, and Government of the King: I say, his Majesty saw now this miserable People groveling at the feet of their proud Conquerors, reduced to the lowest desolation, and even to the point of Extirpation; the blood they had wantonly, and savagely spilt in the beginning of the Rebellion, now plentifully revenged in streams of their own blood, from one end of the Kingdom to the other; whilst those Persons who first contriv'd the Rebellion, and could never be reached by the King, and they who caused every Peace to be broken which had been made with his Majesty, with all the possible affront to his Royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavour'd, by all the treacherous Offices against the Royal Power, to reconcile themselves to their new Masters, were every day taken, and infamously put to death by Their Authority who usurped the Government; who sold, as hath been said before, so many thousands of them to the services of Forreign Princes, under whom they perish'd for want of Bread, and without regard: so that there is not an account in History of any Nation, the Jews only excepted, that was ever reduced to a more complete misery than the *Irish* were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

LASTLY, *England*, that seem'd to glory in the Conquest of those two Kingdoms, and to Reign peaceably over them, yielded a prospect too full of variety. Though the King's heart was even broke with the daily informations he receiv'd of the ruin and destruction his faithful and Royal Party underwent; and the butchery frequently acted upon them, and the extreme Tyranny the Usurper exercised over the whole Nation, was grevious to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first Authors of the publick Calamity, now so much sharers in it, that they were no more Masters of their Estates, than They were whom they had first spoiled; and that themselves were brought and exposed upon those Scaffolds, which they had caused to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new Government was in their hands which had pull'd down the old; and that after Monarchy had been made so odious to the People, the whole Wealth of the Nation was become at the disposal of a single Person; and that those Lords, without whose monstrous assistance the Scepter could never have been wrested out of the hands of the King, were now number'd and marshall'd with the dregs of the People: in a word, that *Cromwell* was not so jealous of any, as of those who had raised him; and contriv'd and proposed nothing more to himself, than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the Kingdom, who had been the prin- *of England.*

cipal means to suppress the Royal Authority, and to drive the Royal Family, and all that adher'd to it, into banishment.

THIS prospect the King had of the three Kingdoms during his residence at *Cologne*; but with those manifestations of God's Vengeance upon those ingrateful Nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompence, which the divine Justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

CROMWELL, whose great heart was sollicitous to extend the terror of his Name into Forreign Countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humours of the People at home more obsequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his refractory Parliament, sent two very great Fleets to Sea; the one under *Penn*, consisting of about thirty Ships of War, with which there was likewise Embarked a Land Army, consisting of four or five thousand Foot, and two Troops of Horse, under the Command of General *Venables*, a Gentleman of a good Family in *Cheshire*, who had served long in the Army in the condition of a Colonel, and was then call'd out of *Ireland* to command in this Expedition.

Cromwell the beginning of 1655 sent two great Fleets to Sea; the one under Penn, *with a Land Army under* Venables:

BOTH these Superior Officers were well affected to the King's Service, and were not fond of the Enterprise they were to Conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by several ways, without any communication with each other (which they had not confidence to engage in) sent to the King, that if he were ready with any Force from abroad, or secure of possessing any Port within, they would, that is, either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their Charge, to declare for his Majesty. If this had been upon a joynt and mutual confidence in each other, and that both Fleet, and Land Forces, though the Body of Horse was small, would at the same time have set up the King's Standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the King could not presume upon any Port; without which neither had promise to engage; nor could he make out of the distinct Overtures (however he might hope to unite them) such a probable Attempt, after the miscarriage of so many, as to Embark his Friends in. So he wished them to reserve their Affections for his Majesty, till a more proper season to discover them; and to prosecute the Voyage to which they were design'd; from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself; for it was evident *Cromwell* meant to make some Enemy, which probably might give his Majesty some Friend.

THE

THE other Fleet was not inferior in Naval ſtrength, and power, but was without a Land Army; and that was committed to the Command of *Blake*; in whom *Cromwell* had all confidence. Neither Fleet knew what the other, or what it ſelf was to do, till each of them came to ſuch a Point; where they were to open their Commiſſions; and *Cromwell* had communicated his purpoſe for either to ſo very few, that, for many Months after they were both at Sea, no Body knew to what they were deſign'd. Though the intercourſe between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal was maintain'd with many Civilities, and ſome confidence, yet there was nothing of a Treaty ſign'd; he reſolving, as he profeſſed, "To give his Friendſhip "to that Crown that ſhould beſt deſerve it; and, without doubt, both Crowns were amuſed with his preparations, and ſollicitous to know where the ſtorm would fall. *The other Fleet under Blake.*

SPAIN, that had hitherto kept *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* in *England*, after he had ſo many years reſided there as Embaſſadour to the late King, believing they were leſs faulty in that, than if they ſhould ſend another originally to *Cromwell*, now thought it neceſſary to omit no occaſion to endear themſelves to him: and therefore they ſent the Marquis of *Leyda* with a ſplendid Train, as extraordinary Embaſſadour, to congratulate all his Succeſſes, and to offer him the entire Friendſhip of the Catholick King. The Marquis, who was a wiſe and a jealous Man, found by his reception, and *Cromwell*'s reſervation in all his Audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his Maſter; and ſo after a Month ſpent there, he return'd to look to his Government in *Flanders*, with an expectation that aſſoon as any News came of the Fleets, they ſhould hear of ſome Acts of Hoſtility upon the Subjects of *Spain*; and did all he could to awaken all the Miniſters, of that King to the ſame apprehenſion and expectation. *The Marqu of Leyda ſent Emba ſadour by Spain to Cromwell who after a Month returns to Flanders.*

THE two Fleets ſet out from the Coaſt of *England*; that under *Blake*, ſome Months before the other; and made it's courſe directly to the *Mediterranean*; being bound in the firſt place to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of thoſe of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*, who had infeſted the *Engliſh* Merchants, and were grown powerful in thoſe Seas. When he ſhould have perform'd that Service, he was to open another Commiſſion, which would inform him what courſe he was to ſteer: the other Fleet under *Pen* was bound directly to the *Barbadoes*; where they were to open their Commiſſions, and to deliver Letters to that Governour. There they found, that they were to take in new Men for the Land Army, and then to proſecute their courſe directly to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*. The Governour had Orders to ſupply new Men for the Expedition; and there *The Fleet under Blak goes into th Mediterra nean.* *That under Pen, to the Barbadoes.*

were Ships ready for their Transportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the Planters of those *Leeward* Islands, which were overstock'd with Inhabitants, to seek their Fortune farther frome home. So that, after a shorter stay at the *Barbadoes*, than they had reason to expect, having now found there two Frigats (which *Cromwell* had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several Shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters) and making prize of about forty *Dutch* Ships, belonging to their new Allies of *Holland*, for Trading thither (contrary to the Act of Navigation) about the end of *March* they set Sail, with an addition of four or five thousand Foot for the Land Army, towards St *Christophers*; where, after a short stay, they receiv'd about fifteen hundred Men more: so that *Venables* had now under his Command a Body of above nine thousand Men, with one Troop of Horse more, which the Planters of the *Barbadoes* joyn'd to him; and having a prosperous Wind, they came, about the middle of *April*, within view of *Santo Domingo*; which is the chief City and Port of the Island of *Hispaniola*.

Thence to Hispaniola.

THEIR Orders from *Cromwell* were very particular, and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they called a Council of War; and it was there resolv'd that General *Venables* should land in another place (which they conceiv'd to be much nearer the Town than in truth it was) and from thence march directly to it, there being another Brigade of Foot to be landed, at a less distance from the Town, in a Bay, that should joyn with them; and joyn they did. But by the march which *Venables* had made, in which he spent two days and a half in the Woods and uneasy Passages, and in the terrible heat of that Country's Sun, where they found no Water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joyn'd with their Companions, that it was an ill presage of the misadventure that follow'd. The loss of that time in their Advance had another very ill effect. For the Inhabitants of the Town, that, at the first appearance of such a Fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seised upon by such a Consternation, that they despair'd of making any resistance; when they saw their Enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a March as must tire and infinitely annoy them, they recover'd their Spirits, and prepared for their Defence. So that when *Venables*, upon the conjunction with his other Forces, and after having found some fresh Water to refresh his Men, advanced towards the Town,

Their Orders.

Town, his Forlorne Hope found themſelves charged by a Party of Horſe arm'd with long Lances, and other Arms, which they had not been accuſtom'd to; ſo, tired and diſmayed with their march and heat, they bore the Charge very ill, and were eaſily Routed, and Routed thoſe which were behind them; and were, in that diſorder, purſued till they came to their main Body; upon ſight whereof the *Spaniard* retired without any loſs, having left the Captain of the Forlorne Hope, and above fifty of his Company, dead upon the place. The *Engliſh* retired back in great diſcomfort to the Bay, and the freſh Water River they had found there; where they ſtay'd ſo long, that the General thought his Men not only enough refreſh'd, but enough confirm'd in their reſolutions to redeem the ſhame of their laſt diſorder, having got Guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the City, and that they ſhould not go near a Fort, which the *Spaniards* had in a Wood, from whence they had been infeſted. The Common opinion that the *Negroes*, Natives of thoſe parts, are ſuch Enemies to the *Spaniards*, that they are willing to betray them, and do any miſchief to them, might poſſibly incline the *Engliſh* to give credit to thoſe Guides. But they did conduct them directly to the Fort; near which an Ambuſcade in the Woods diſcharged a Volly again upon the Forlorne Hope, and fell then in upon them with ſuch fury, that diſorder'd the whole Army; which, though it recover'd the Courage once more to make an Attempt upon that Fort, was again ſeiſed upon by a panick fear, which made them directly fly back to the Bay, with the loſs of above ſix hundred Men, whereof their Major General was one.

Venables beaten by few Spaniards.

THIS Fright they never recover'd; but, within few days after, having undergone many diſtreſſes by the intolerable heat of the Climate, and the *Negroes* killing their Men every day, as they went into the Woods to find meat, they were, within five or ſix days after the beginning of *May*, compell'd to reimbark themſelves on board the Fleet, with a thouſand Men leſs than had been landed, who had by ſeveral ways loſt their Lives there; for which they revenged themſelves upon a Neighbour Iſland, called *Jamaica*; where they made another deſcent, took their City, and drove all the Inhabitants into the Woods. And here they left a good Body of Foot conſiſting of three or four thouſand Men, under the Command of a Colonel, to fortify and plant in this Iſland, a place fruitful in it ſelf, and abounding in many good proviſions, and a perpetual ſharp thorn in the ſides of the *Spaniard*; who receiv'd exceeding damage from thence; they who were ſo eaſily frighted, and beaten, when they were in a great Body upon the other Iſland, making afterwards frequent Incurſions,

He reimbarks, and makes a deſcent upon Jamaica; where he ſucceeds.

with small Numbers, into it from *Jamaica*; Sacking their Towns, and returning with very rich Booty. When *Venables* had put this Island into as good order as he could, he return'd with *Pen* into *England*.

The Fleet returns into England.

The Fleet under Blake *had Better Success: forces* Algiers *to a Peace; enters the Harbour of* Tunis, *and burns their Fleet.*

THE other Fleet under the Command of *Blake* had better Success, without any misadventures. After he had reduced those of *Argiers*, where he Anchored in their very Mole, to submit to such Conditions for the time past, and the time to come, as he thought reasonable, he Sailed to *Tunis*; which he found better fortify'd and more resolv'd; for that King return'd a very rude Answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his Menaces, and refusing to return either Ship or Prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon *Blake* put his Fleet in order, and thunder'd with his great Guns upon the Town; whilst he sent out several long Boats Mann'd with stout Mariners, who, at the same time, enter'd with very notable resolution into their Harbours, and set fire to all the Ships there, being nine Men of War; which were burnt to ashes; and this with the loss only of five and twenty of the *English*, and about eight and forty hurt, all the Boats, with the rest of the Men, returning safe to the Ships. This was indeed an Action of the highest Conduct and Courage, and made the name of the *English* very terrible and formidable in those Seas.

Cromwell *commits* Pen *and* Venables *to the Tower.*

THE Success of both Fleets came to *Cromwell*'s notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He was never so discomposed (for he had usually a great command over his Passions) as upon the miscarriage at *Hispaniola*. And assoon as they came on shore, he committed both *Pen* and *Venables* to the Tower, and could never be perswaded to trust either of them again; and could not, in a long time, speak temperately of that Affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant Plantation in *Jamaica*; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and with'd the Men might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and sent presently a good Squadron of Ships, and a Recruit of fifteen hundred Men to carry on that Work; and resolv'd nothing more, than to make a continual War from that place upon the *Spaniard*.

Sends recruits to Jamaica.

Lockhart *sent by him Embassadour into* France; *who finishes an Alliance there, begun before by the Agents of* France *in* England.

AND now the rupture with *Spain* could be no longer concealed. Therefore he sent Orders to *Blake*, "That he should "watch the return of the Plate-Fleet, and do what mischief "he could upon the coast of *Spain*; and gave directions to his Ships in the *Downs* to infest those of *Flanders*, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between Him and the Cardinal, was now exposed to the light. He now sent *Lockhart* his Embassadour into *France*; who was receiv'd with great solemnity; and was a Man of great address in Treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the

the Cardinal. He finish'd there the Alliance with *France*. *Cromwell* undertook "To send over an Army of six thousand "Foot, to be commanded by their own Superior Officer, "who was to receive Orders only from Marshal *Turenne*: and when *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike* should be taken, they were to be put into *Cromwell*'s hands. There were other more secret Articles, which will be mention'd.

FLANDERS had notice of this their new Enemy from *England*, before they heard any thing from *Spain*, that might better enable them to contend with him; and *Don Alonzo* remain'd still in *London* without notice of what was done, till the Affair of *Jamaica* was upon the Exchange, and Fraternities enter'd into there for the better carrying on that Plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till *Cromwell* sent to him to leave the Kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was transported into *Flanders* to encrease the jealousies and discontents, which were already too great and uneasy there. The Prince of *Condè*, whose Troops, and vigour, were the preservation and life of that Country, was very ill satisfied with the formality and flegm of the Arch-Duke, and with the unactivity and wariness of the *Conde* of *Fuensaldagna*; who he thought omitted many Opportunities.

Don Alonzo sent to by Cromwell to leave England.

THE Arch-Duke was weary of the Title of Governour of the Low Countries and General of the Army, when the Power was in truth in *Fuensaldagna*, and nothing to be done without His approbation; and having by frequent complaints to *Madrid*, endeavour'd in vain to vindicate his Authority, had implored his dismission, and *Fuensaldagna* himself was as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing well the defects of the Court, as well as the poverty of *Madrid*, thought the defence of *Flanders* consisted most in preserving the Army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent Enterprises and restless Spirit of the Prince of *Condè*; which spent their Men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the Arch-Duke, was not recompensed by any benefit from his Service, besides the irreconcilableness with the Arch-Duke, by his having compelled him, by the Authority of the King, to dismiss the Count of *Swassenburg*; whom he lov'd of all the world; so that he was likewise weary of his Post, and desir'd his deliverance to be sent him from *Madrid*.

THE Council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the Arch-Duke and the *Condè*; honourably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in *Germany*, and to bring *Don Juan* of *Austria*, the natural

Don Juan of Austria made Governour of Flanders: and Carracena appointed to command the Army under him.

natural Son of the King of *Spain*, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time General in *Italy*, to undertake the Government of *Flanders*, with such restrictions as the King of *Spain* thought fit; and at the same time, that the *Conde* of *Fuensaldagna* should immediately enter upon the Government of *Millan*; which had been exercised for the last six years by the Marquis of *Carracena*; who was now to govern the Army in *Flanders* under *Don Juan*; and that the Marquis, who had the most disadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleased, they gave him such an addition of Authority, as could not but breed ill blood in *Don Juan*, as it felt out afterwards. This Counsel was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when *France* and *Cromwell* were ready to enter *Flanders* with two powerful Armies, whilst it was, upon the matter, under no Command.

The King had sent to the Arch-Duke to offer his conjunction before the Arch-Duke left Flanders.

The King was yet at *Cologne*; and no sooner heard of the War that *Cromwell* had begun upon *Spain*, but he concluded that the *Spaniard* would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him; at least, that their fears were over of offending *Cromwell*. He therefore sent privately to the Arch-Duke, and to *Fuensaldagna*, to offer them his Conjunction. *Don Alonzo* was likewise there; and the long Experience he had in *England*, and the Quality he still held, made his judgment in those Affairs most esteem'd by them. He, whether upon the Conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disobliged both the late and the present King, or whether, by having liv'd long in a place where the King's interest was contemn'd, he did in truth believe that his Majesty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his Majesty would draw off the *Irish* from the Service of *France*; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some Regiments from *Spain*, whilst he remain'd in *France*. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any Body the King should Authorize to treat with them; which when the King knew, he resolv'd to go to them Himself; and left *Cologne*, attended only by two or three Servants; and when he came near *Brussels*, sent to advertise the Arch-Duke at what distance he was; and "That he would see him "*incognito* in what place, or manner, he should think fit.

The King came into Flanders, and treats with the Arch-Duke near Brussels.

They either were, or seem'd to be much troubled that the King was come in Person; and desired, that he would by no means come to *Brussels*; but that he would remain in a little vile Dorp about a League from *Brussels*; where he was very meanly accommodated. Thither the *Conde* of *Fuensaldagna*

dagna and *Don Alonzo* came to his Majesty; and the Arch-Duke met him privately at another place. The King quickly discover'd that *Don Alonzo* had a private Intrigue with some Officers of the *English* Army, who were Enemies to *Cromwell*, upon whose Interest he more depended than the King's, and offer'd it as great merit to his Majesty, if he could be able to perswade them to make up a conjunction with the King. This correspondence between *Don Alonzo* and those Levellers, was managed by an *Irish* Jesuit, who, by speaking *Spanish*, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The King pressed them "That he might remove his Family to *Brus-*"*sels*, or to some place in *Flanders*, that it might be noto-"rious that he was in Alliance with his Catholick Majesty; "and then they should quickly see he had another kind of In-"terest in *England*, than what those Men pretended to, upon "whom they ought not to depend; and they would quickly "find, if his Majesty resided in that Country, his influence "upon the *Irish* who were in *France*.

THEY would by no means consent that his Majesty should remain in *Brussels*, as little at *Antwerp*, or indeed in any place as taken notice of by the State to be there; "Which, they said, "The King of *Spain*'s honour would not permit, "without shewing those respects to him that he might live in "that Grandeur as became a Great King; which the present "state of their affairs would not permit them to defray the "charge of. But they intimated, "That if his Majesty would "choose to remove his Family to *Bruges*, and remain there "with them, so far *incognito* as not to expect any publick "expensive Reception, they were sure he would find all re-"respect from the Inhabitants of that City. The King desired that some Treaty might be sign'd between them; which was committed to the wisdom of *Don Alonzo*; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the King was permitted to reside in *Bruges*, and nothing on the King of *Spain*'s part undertaken but "That whenever the King "could cause a good Port Town in *England* to declare for "him, his Catholick Majesty would assist him with a Body "of six thousand Foot, and with such a proportion of Am-"munition, and so many Ships to transport that Body thither; which was the Proposition the Levellers had made; and *Don Alonzo*, by making it the contract with the King, thought this way to beget an Intelligence between them and the Royal Party; of the power of which he had no esteem.

THE King discern'd that what they offer'd would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident Propositions of advantage to *Spain*, as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it was evident to him, that the affairs

in

in those Provinces which remain'd under *Spain*, were in so evil a posture, that, if they should promise any great matters, they would not be able to perform them. However, all that he desired, was to have the reputation of a Treaty between Him and the King of *Spain*; under which he might draw his Family from *Cologne*, and remain in *Flanders*, which was at a just distance from *England*, to expect other Alterations. So his Majesty readily accepted the Treaty as it was drawn by *Don Alonzo*; and sign'd it; and declared that he would reside in the manner they proposed at *Bruges*. Whereupon, after seven or eight days stay in that inconvenient manner, the Treaty was engrossed and signed by the King, the Arch-Duke, and *Don Alonzo*, in *April*, or the end of *March* 1657; the dispatch of the Treaty being hastened by the necessity of the departure of the Arch-Duke, and the *Conde* of *Fuensaldagna*; who begun their Journey within two or three days after the signing of it; *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena* being known to be on their way; and both, though not together, within few days Journey of *Flanders*.

The Treaty sign'd April 1657: *between* Spain *and the King.*

THE Treaty, as it was sign'd, was sent by an Express into *Spain*, for the approbation and signature of his Catholick Majesty. The King with his small Train went to *Bruges*, and Lodged in the House of a Subject of his own the Lord *Tarah*, an *Irish*-man; who had been born in that Country, and inherited an Estate by his Mother. There the King stayed, till a handsome Accommodation was provided for him in that City, having sent to his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, who remain'd yet at *Cologne*, to come to him, and that his Family should all come from thence. So that by the time his Majesty had return'd again to *Brussels*, to congratulate *Don Juan*'s arrival, and spent three or four days there, he found himself as well settled at *Bruges* as he had been at *Cologne*; where, when his Family left it, there was not the least debt remain'd unsatisfied; which, in the low condition his Majesty had been in, and still was, gave reputation to his Oeconomy.

The King removes his Family from Cologne, *and comes to reside at* Bruges.

AS upon the Dissolution of the unruly Parliament, *Cromwell* had sent out his two great Fleets, to propagate his Fame abroad, presuming that by the Conquest which the one would make in the West *Indies*, he should have Money enough to keep his Army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*, which were indeed grown formidable to all Merchants, he should raise his reputation in *Christendom*, and become very popular with all the Merchants in *England*; so he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could devise, to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the King's Party so low, that he had no apprehension of their power

power to raiſe an Army againſt him; yet he diſcern'd, that by breaking their Fortunes and Eſtates, he had not at all broken their Spirits; and that by taking ſo many of their Lives, their numbers were not much leſſen'd; and that they would be ſtill ready to throw themſelves into any Party that ſhould declare againſt him; to which, he knew, there were enough inclined.

Cromwell diſturbed with the diviſions in his own Army.

BUT that which troubled him moſt, was the diſtemper in his Army; where he knew there were many Troops more at the diſpoſal of that Party that would deſtroy him, than at his own. It was once in his purpoſe to have drawn over a Regiment of *Swiſs*, upon pretence of ſending them into *Ireland*, but in truth with intention to keep them as a Guard to his own Perſon; and to that purpoſe he had ſent a Perſon to treat with Colonel *Balthazar*, a Man, well known to the Proteſtant *Cantons*; but this came to be diſcover'd: ſo he had not confidence to proceed in it. He reſolv'd therefore upon an Expedient, which ſhould provide for all inconveniences, as well amongſt the People, as in the Army. He conſtituted, out of the Perſons who he thought were moſt devoted to himſelf, a Body of Major Generals; that is, he aſſign'd to ſuch a ſingle Perſon ſo many Counties, to be under his Command as their Major General: ſo that all *England* was put under the abſolute power of twelve Men, neither of them having any power in the Juriſdiction of another, but every Man, in thoſe Counties which were committed to his Charge, had all that authority which was before divided among Committee-Men, Juſtices of Peace, and ſeveral other Officers.

Conſtitutes his Major Generals.

THE Major General committed to Priſon what Perſons he thought fit to ſuſpect; took care to Levy all Monies which were appointed by the Protector and his Council to be collected for the Publick; ſequeſter'd all who did not pay their decimation, or ſuch other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no Appeal from any of their Acts but to the Protector himſelf. They had likewiſe a Martial Power, which was to liſt a Body of Horſe and Foot, who were to have ſuch a Salary conſtantly paid, and not to be called upon to ſerve but upon emergent occaſion, and then to attend ſo many days at their own Charge; and if they ſtay'd longer, they were to be under the ſame pay with the Army, but independent upon the Officers thereof, and only to obey their Major General. A Horſe-man had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his Horſe if he were call'd upon; if he were not, he might intend his own Affairs. By this means he had a ſecond Army in view, powerful enough to controle the firſt, if they at any time deſerv'd to be ſuſpected. But he diſcern'd, by degrees, that theſe new Magiſtrates grew too much

much in love with their own power; and besides that they carried themselves like so many *Bassa's* with their Bands of *Janizaries*, towards the People, and were extremely odious to all Parties, they did really affect such an Authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present, he thought not fit to controle them, and seem'd less to apprehend them.

Mountague sent to joyn with Blake; *and put in Commission with him.*

WHEN Admiral *Blake* had subdued the *Turks* of *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, and betaken himself to the Coast of *Spain*, and by the attempt of *Hispaniola* and the possession of *Jamaica*, the War was sufficiently declar'd against the Catholick King, *Mountague*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been drawn into the Party of *Cromwell*, and serv'd under him as a Colonel in his Army with much Courage, was sent with an addition of Ships to joyn with *Blake*, and joyn'd in Commission of Admiral and General with him; *Blake* having found himself much indispos'd in his Health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the Fleet, if worse should befall him. Upon his Arrival with the Fleet, they lay long before *Cales* in expectation of the *Spanish* West *India* Fleet, and to keep in all Ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some Months Attendance, they were at last compell'd to remove their Station, that they might get fresh Water, and some other Provisions which they wanted; and so drew off to a convenient Bay in *Portugal*, and left a Squadron of Ships to watch the *Spanish* Fleet; which, within a very short time after the remove of the *English* Fleet, came upon the Coast; and before they were discover'd by the Commander of the Squadron who was to the Leeward, made their way so fast, that when he got up with them (though he was inferior to them in number) they rather thought of saving their Wealth by flight, than of defending themselves; and so the *Spanish* Admiral run on shore in the Bay; and the Vice-Admiral, in which was the Vice-King of *Mexico* with his Wife, and Sons, and Daughters, fir'd; in which the poor Gentleman himself, his Wife, and his Eldest Daughter, perish'd: His other Daughters, and his two Sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the *English*; who took the Rere-Admiral, and another Ship, very richly laden; which, together with the Prisoners, were sent into *England*, the rest escaped into *Gibraltar*.

An English *Squadron lights upon the* Spanish *west* India *Fleet; takes the Rere-Admiral and another Ship off of* Cales.

The Bullion taken convey'd from Portsmouth *to* London.

THE Ships which were sent for *England*, arriv'd at *Portsmouth*; and though they might with less charge have continued their Voyage by Sea to *London*, *Cromwell*, thought it would make more noise, if all the Bullion, which was of great value, was landed at *Portsmouth*; from whence it was brought by Land in many Carts to *London*, and carried through the City to the Tower to be there Coin'd, as it was, within as short

ſhort a time as it could be diſpatch'd; and though it was in it ſelf very conſiderable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loſs to the *Spaniard* was prodigious; though moſt of what was in the Admiral was ſaved, and that only: And they ſaw the *Engliſh* Fleet ſtill remaining before them, which was not like to miſs the other Fleet they ſhortly after expected, in ſpight of all Advertiſements which they were like to be able to ſend to it.

CROMWELL now thought his reputation, both abroad and at home, ſo good, that he might venture again upon calling of a Parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, ſuppreſs, or compoſe thoſe refractory Spirits, which croſſed him in all places; and having firſt made ſuch Sheriffs in all Counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his deſigns, by hindering ſuch Men to ſtand againſt whom he had a prejudice, at leaſt, by not returning them if they ſhould be choſen, and by procuring ſuch Perſons to be returned as would be moſt agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all Counties; and having prepared all things to this purpoſe, as well as he could, he ſent out his Writs to call a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, upon the ſeventeenth of *September*, in the year 1656. When, upon the Returns, he found that though in ſome places he had ſucceeded accordrng to his wiſh, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many Members were return'd, who were Men of the moſt notorious Malignity againſt him, he therefore reſorted to his old ſecurity, to keep all manner of Perſons from entering into the Houſe, who did not firſt ſubſcribe, "That they would act "nothing prejudicial to the Government as it was eſtabliſh'd "under a Protector; which being tender'd, many Members utterly refuſed, and return'd into their Countries, where they were not, for the moſt part, the worſe welcome for inſiſting upon their Privileges, and Freedom of Parliament.

Cromwell ſummons a Parliament to meet Sept. 17. 1656.

Impoſes a Subſcription upon the Members before they ſate.

THE major part frankly ſubmitted and ſubſcribed; ſome of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do miſchief. So a Speaker was choſen; and at firſt they proceeded ſo unanimouſly, that the Protector begun to hope that he had gain'd his point. With very little, or no contradiction, they paſſed an Act of Renunciation of any Title that *Charles Stuart* (for ſo they had long called the King) or any of that Family might pretend; and this all Men were bound to ſubſcribe. With as little oppoſition, they paſſed another, whereby it was made High Treaſon to attempt any thing againſt the life of the Protector. Then they paſſed ſeveral Acts for raiſing Money by way of contribution in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raiſed. They granted Tonnage and Poundage to the Protector

The Proceedings of the Parliament.

tector for his Life; and passed several other Acts for the raising of Monies; amongst them, one for obliging all Persons to pay a full years Rent for all Buildings which had been erected in, and about *London*, from before the beginning of the Troubles; by all which ways, vast Sums of Money were to be, and afterwards were, raised. All these Acts they presented solemnly to his Highness, to be confirm'd by his Royal Authority; and He as graciously confirm'd them all; and told them, "That as it had been the custom of the Chief Gover-"nours to acknowledge the care and kindness of the Com-"mons upon such Occasions, so he did very heartily and "thankfully acknowledge Theirs.

But after all this, he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his Personal Authority; and notwithstanding all this was done, they might for ought appear'd, remove him from being both Protector, and General. There had been for some time jealousies between Him and *Lambert*, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those Major Generals; and being one of them himself, and having the Government of the five Northern Counties committed to him, he desired to improve their Authority, and to have it settled by Authority of Parliament. But *Cromwell*, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be look'd upon as a publick grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of Parliament, than that it should appear to be out of his own inclination. But, hitherto, neither that design in *Lambert*, nor the other in *Cromwell*, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

Cromwell's jealousy of Lambert.

The Protector himself seem'd to desire nothing more than to have the Authority they had formerly given him, at least, that he had exercised from the time he was Protector, confirm'd, and ratified by Act of Parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any King ever enjoy'd. But he had used to speak much, "That it was pity the Nobi-"lity should be totally suppressed; and that the Government "would be better, if it passed another consultation besides "that of the House of Commons. In matter of Religion, he would often speak, "That there was much of good in the Or-"der of Bishops, if the dross were scour'd off. He courted very much many of the Nobility, and used all devices to dispose them to come to him; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be King; which was the more confirm'd, when many of those who had nearest relation to him, and were most trusted by him, assoon as the Parliament had dispatch'd those Acts, which are mention'd before, and that complaints came from all parts against

againſt the Major Generals, inveigh'd ſharply againſt the temper and compoſition of the Government, as if it was not capable to ſettle the ſeveral diſtractions, and ſatisfy the ſeveral Intereſts of the Nation; and by degrees propoſed, in direct terms, "That they might inveſt *Cromwell* with the Title, "Rights, and Dignity of a King; and then he would know "what he was to do towards the ſatisfaction of all Parties, and "how to govern thoſe who would not be ſatisfied.

A Propoſition in the Parliament for Cromwell to be King.

THIS Propoſition found a great concurrence; and very many who uſed not to agree in any thing elſe, were of one mind in This, and would preſently vote him King. And it was obſerv'd that no body was forwarder in that Acclamation, than ſome Men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the King, and to wiſh his Reſtauration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the King's Party were ſo deceived in their judgments, as really to believe, that the making *Cromwell* King for the preſent, was the beſt Expedient for the Reſtauration of his Majeſty; and that the Army, and the whole Nation, would then have been united rather to reſtore the true, than to admit of a falſe Soveraign, whoſe Hypocriſy and Tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more deteſted.

BUT the more ſober Perſons of the King's Party, who made leſs noiſe, trembled at this Overture; and believ'd that it was the only way, utterly to deſtroy the King, and to pull up all future hopes of the Royal Family by the Roots. They ſaw all Men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of Spirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confuſion of the preſent Government; that very many who had ſuſtain'd the King's Quarrel in the beginning were dead; that the preſent King, by his long abſence out of the Kingdom, was known to very few; ſo that there was too much reaſon to fear, that much of that Affection that appear'd under the notion of Allegiance to the King, was more directed to the Monarchy than to the Perſon; and that if *Cromwell* were once made King, and ſo the Government run again in the old Channel, though thoſe who were in love with a Republick would poſſibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of ſtrength by the Acceſs of thoſe who preferr'd the Monarchy, and which probably would reconcile moſt Men of Eſtates to an abſolute acquieſcence, if not to an entire ſubmiſſion; that the Nobility, which being excluded to a Man and depriv'd of all the Rights and Priviledges due to them by their Birth-right, and ſo Enemies irreconcilable to the preſent Government, would, by this alteration, find themſelves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the Name of a King, how unlawful a one ſoever; and there was an Act of

Parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of King *Harry* the seventh, which seem'd to provide absolute Indemnity to such submission. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propension in too many of the Nobility, to ransome themselves at the charge of their lawful Sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections, used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such Vote in the House.

Lambert and his Party oppose this Overture:

ON the other side, *Lambert*, who was the second Man of Power in the Army, and many other Officers of account and interest, besides the Country Members, opposed this Overture with great bitterness, and indignation: some of them said directly, "That if, contrary to their Oaths and Engagements, "and contrary to the end, for obtaining whereof they had "spent so much blood and treasure, they must at last return "and submit to the old Government, and live again under a "King, they would choose much rather to obey the true and "lawful Heir to the Crown, who was descended from a long "succession of Kings who had managed the Scepter over the "Nation, than to submit to a Person who at best was but "their equal, and raised by themselves from the same degree "of which they all were, and by the trust they had reposed "in him, had raised himself above them. That which put an end to the present Debate was (and which was as wonderful as any thing) that some of his own Family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependence upon him, as *Desborough*, *Fleetwood*, *Whaley*, and others, as passionately contradicted the motion, as any of the other Officers; and confidently undertook to know, "That himself would never "consent to it; and therefore that it was very strange that "any Men should importune the putting such a Question, be-"fore they knew that he would accept it, unless they took "this way to destroy him. Upon this (for which the Undertakers receiv'd no thanks) the first Debate was put off, till farther consideration.

And some of Cromwell's own Relations.

THE Debate was resumed again the next day, with the same warmth, the same Persons still of the same opinion they had been before: most of the Officers of the Army, as well as they who were the great Dependents upon, and Creatures, of *Cromwell*, as passionately opposed the making him King, as *Lambert* and the rest did, who look'd to be successive Protectors after his decease; only it was observ'd, that they who the day before had undertaken, that he himself would never endure it (which had especially made the pause at that time) urged that Argument no more; but inveigh'd still against it as a monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his Privy Council, and others

neareſt

neareſt his truſt, were as violent and as poſitive for the declaring him King, and much the Major part of the Houſe concurr'd in the ſame opinion; and notwithſtanding all was ſaid to the contrary, they appointed a Committee of ſeveral of the moſt eminent Members of the Houſe to wait upon him, and to inform him of "The very earneſt deſire of the Houſe "that he would take upon him the Title of King; and if they "ſhould find any averſion in him, that they ſhould then en- "large in giving him thoſe reaſons, which had been offer'd in "the Houſe, and which had ſway'd the Houſe to that reſolu- "tion, which they hoped would have the ſame Influence upon "his Highneſs.

A Committee appointed to confer with Cromwell about it.

He gave them Audience in the Painted Chamber, when they made the bare Overture to him, as the deſire of his Parliament; at which he ſeem'd ſurpriſed; and told them, "He "wonder'd how any ſuch thing came into their minds; that "it was neither fit for Them to offer, nor Him to receive; "that he was ſure they could diſcover no ſuch Ambition in "him, and that his Conſcience would not give him leave "ever to conſent to own that Title. They who were well prepared to expect ſuch an Anſwer, told him, "That they "hoped, he would not ſo ſuddainly give a poſitive denial to "what the Parliament had deſired upon ſo long, and mature "deliberation; that They, who knew his modeſty well, and "that he more affected to deſerve the higheſt Titles than to "wear them, were appointed to offer many reaſons, which "had induced the Houſe to make this requeſt to him; which "when he had vouchſafed to hear, they hoped the ſame im- "preſſion would be made upon Him, that had been made upon "Them in the Houſe. He was too deſirous to give the Parliament all the Satisfaction he could with a good Conſcience, to refuſe to hear whatever they thought fit to ſay to him; and ſo appointed them another day to attend him in the ſame place; which they accordingly did.

He gives them Audience, and they offer him their reaſons.

When they came to him again, they all ſucceſſively entertain'd him with long Harangues, ſetting out "The nature "of the *Engliſh* People, and the nature of the Government "to which they had been accuſtom'd, and under which they "had flouriſh'd from the time they had been a People: that "though the extreme ſufferings they had undergone by cor- "rupt Miniſters, under negligent, and tyrannical Kings had "tranſported them to throw off the Government it ſelf, as "well as to inflict Juſtice upon the Perſons of the Offenders; "yet they found by experience, that no other Government "would ſo well fit the Nation, as that to which it had been "accuſtom'd: that, notwithſtanding the infinite pains his "Highneſs had taken, and which had been crown'd, even

"with miraculous success, by the immediate blessing of Di-
"vine Providence upon all his Actions and all his Counsels,
"there remain'd still a restless and unquiet Spirit in Men,
"that threaten'd the publick Peace; and that it was most ap-
"parent, by the daily Combinations and Conspiracies against
"the present Government, how just and gentle and mild so-
"ever, that the heart of the Nation was devoted to the old
"form, with which it was acquainted; and that it was the
"love of that, not the Affection to the Young Man who pre-
"tended a title to it, and was known to no body, which dis-
"posed so many to wish for the return of it: that the Name
"and Title of a Protector was never known to this Kingdom,
"but in the hands of a Subject, during the Reign of an in-
"fant Soveraign; and therefore, that the Laws gave little
"respect to him, but were always executed in the Name of
"the King, how young soever, and how unfit soever to go-
"vern: that whatsoever concern'd the Rights of any Family,
"or any personal pretence, was well and safely over; the
"Nation was united, and of one mind in the rejection of the
"old Line; there was no danger of it; but no body could
"say, that they were of one mind in the rejection of the old
"form of Government; to which they were still most ad-
"dicted: therefore, they besought him, out of his love and
"tenderness to the Common-wealth, and for the preservation
"of the Nation, which had got so much renown and glory
"under his Conduct, that he would take that Name and Ti-
"tle which had ever presided over it, and by which as he
"could establish a firm Peace at home, so he would find his
"fame and honour more improv'd abroad; and that those
"very Princes and Kings, who, out of admiration of his Vir-
"tue and noble Actions, had contracted a reverence for his
"Person, and an impatient desire of his friendship, would
"look upon him with much more veneration, when they saw
"him cloath'd with the same Majesty, and as much their
"equal in Title as in merit; and would with much more ala-
"crity renew the old Alliances with *England*, when they were
"renew'd in the old form, and under the old title, which
"would make them durable; since no Forraign Prince could
"presume to take upon him to judge of right of Succession;
"which had been frequently changed in all Kingdoms, not
"only upon the expiration of a Line, but upon deprivation
"and deposition; in such manner as was most for the good
"and benefit of the People; of which there was a fresh In-
"stance in their own Eyes, in the Kingdom of *Portugal*;
"where the Duke of *Braganza*, by the Election of the Peo-
"ple, assumed the Crown, and Title of King, from the King
"of *Spain*; who had enjoy'd it quietly, and without Inter-

"ruption,

"ruption, during three Deſcents; and he was acknowledged "as Soveraign of that Kingdom by the late King; who re- "ceiv'd his Embaſſadours accordingly.

CROMWELL heard theſe and the like Arguments with great attention (and wanted not inclination to have concurr'd with them; he thanked them "For the pains they had taken) "to which he would not take upon him to give a preſent An- "ſwer; that he would conſider of all they had ſaid to him, "and reſort to God for Council; and then he would ſend "for them, and acquaint them with his Reſolution; and ſo they parted, all Men ſtanding at gaze, and in terrible ſuſpenſe, according to their ſeveral hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the diſpute was now within his own Chamber. There is no queſtion the Man was in great Agony, and in his own mind did heartily deſire to be King, and thought it the only way to be ſafe. And it is confidently believ'd, that upon ſome Addreſſes he had formerly made to ſome principal Noble Men of the Kingdom, and ſome Friendly Expoſtulation he had by himſelf, or ſome Friend, with them, why they reſerv'd themſelves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with Him, the Anſwer from them all ſeverally (for ſuch diſcourſes could be held but with one at a time) was "That if he would make "himſelf King, they ſhould eaſily know what they had to do, "but they knew nothing of the ſubmiſſion and obedience "which they were to pay to a Protector; and that theſe returns firſt diſpoſed him to that Ambition.

HE was not terrified with the oppoſition that *Lambert* gave him; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal Enemy, and one whom he muſt deſtroy, that he might not be deſtroy'd by him: Nor did he much conſider thoſe other Officers of the Army, who in the Houſe concurr'd with *Lambert*; whoſe Intereſt he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he ſhould quickly reduce them, aſſoon as *Lambert* ſhould be diſgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obſtinacy of thoſe who, he knew, loved him; his Brother *Desborough*, and the reſt, who depended wholly upon him, and his Greatneſs, and who did not wiſh his power and Authority leſs abſolute than it was. And that theſe Men ſhould, with that virulence, withſtand this promotion, griev'd him to the heart. He conferr'd with them ſeverally, and endeavour'd, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him reſolutely, "That they could do him no good, if they ſhould "adhere to him; and therefore they were reſolv'd for their "own Intereſt to leave him, and do the utmoſt they could a- "gainſt him, from the time he aſſumed that Title.

It was reported that an Officer of Name, in the *Eclairciſſement* upon the Subject, told him reſolutely and vehemently, "That if ever he took the Title of King upon him, he "would kill him. Certain it is that *Cromwell* was inform'd, and gave credit to it, "That there were a number of Men, who "bound themſelves by an Oath to kill him, within ſo many "hours after he ſhould accept that Title. They who were very near him, ſaid, that in this perplexity he revolv'd his former Dream, or Apparition, that had firſt inform'd, and promiſed him the high Fortune to which he was already arriv'd, and which was generally ſpoken of even from the beginning of the Troubles, and when he was not in a poſture that promiſed ſuch Exaltation; and that he then obſerv'd, it had only declared, "That he ſhould be the greateſt Man in *England*, "and ſhould be near to be King; which ſeem'd to imply that he ſhould be only near, and never actually attain the Crown. Upon the whole matter, after a great diſtraction of Mind, which was manifeſt in his Countenance to all who then ſaw him, notwithſtanding his Science in diſſimulation, his Courage fail'd him; and after he had ſpent ſome days very uneaſily, he ſent for the Committee of Parliament to attend him; and, as his looks were extremely diſcompoſed, and diſcover'd a Mind full of trouble, and irreſolution, ſo his words were broken and disjoynted, without method, and full of pauſes; with frequent mention of God and his gracious diſpenſation, he concluded, "That he could not, with a good Conſcience, ac- "cept the Government under the Title of a King.

He refuſes the Title of King.

Many were then of opinion, that his Genius at that time forſook him, and yielded to the King's Spirit, and that his Reign was near its expiration; and that if his own Courage had not failed, he would eaſily have maſter'd all oppoſition; that there were many Officers of the Army, who would not have left him, who were for Kingly Government in their own affections; and that the greateſt Factions in Religion rather promiſed themſelves Protection from a ſingle Perſon, than from a Parliament, or a new numerous Council; that the firſt Motion for the making him King, was made by one of the moſt wealthy Aldermen of the City of *London*, and who ſerv'd then for the City in Parliament; which was an Argument that that potent Body ſtood well affected to that Government, and would have joyn'd with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wiſely to decline it; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have liv'd many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in ſome preſent Aſſaſſination, and deſperate Attempt upon his Perſon, not from a Revolt of the Army from him; which no particular Man had Intereſt enough to corrupt. And he might

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have secured himself probably, for some time, from such an Assault; and when such designs are deferr'd, they are commonly discover'd; as appear'd afterwards, in many Conspiracies against his Life.

His Interest and Power over the Army was so great, that he had upon the suddain remov'd many of those Officers who had the greatest Names in the Factions of Religion, as *Harrison*, *Rich*, and others; who, assoon as they were remov'd, and their Regiments conferr'd on others, were found to be of no signification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days warning, to have so Quarter'd, and Modell'd his Troops, as to have secured him in any Enterprise he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more Men scandalized at his Usurping more than the Royal Authority, than would have been at his Assumption of the Royal Title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with more sagacity, look'd upon that refusal of his as an immediate Act of Almighty God towards the King's Restauration; and many of the sobereſt Men in the Nation confessed, after the King's Return, that their dejected Spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes reviv'd, by that infatuation of his.

But his Modesty, or his Wisdom, or his Fear in the refusing that supreme Title, seem'd not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had most signally opposed it, were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his Greatness; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolv'd now to give him all the Power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the Title too. And so they Voted, that he should enjoy the Title and Authority he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first Instrument of Government, by another Instrument, which they call'd the Humble *Petition* and *Advice*; in which they granted him not only that Authority for his Life, but power by his last Will and Testament, and in the presence of such a number of Witnesses, to make choice of, and to declare his own Successor; which power should never be granted to any other Protector than himself. And when they had digested and agreed upon this Writing, at the passing whereof *Lambert* chose rather to be absent than oppose it, his Parliament sent to him for an Audience; which he assign'd them on the 25th day of *May* 1657, in the Banqueting House; where their Speaker *Withrington* presented, and read the *Petition* and

He is confirm'd Protector by the humble Petition and Advice.

and *Advice* of his Parliament, and desired his Assent to it.

The Contents of it.

THE Contents and Substance of it were, "That his Highness *Oliver Cromwell* should, under the Title of Protector, "be pleased to execute the Office of chief Magistrate over *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Territories and Dominions thereunto belonging *&c.* and to govern according to "all things in that *Petition* and *Advice*: And also, that he "would in his Life time appoint the Person that should succeed "him in the Government: That he would call a Parliament "consisting of two Houses, once, in a year at farthest: That "those Persons who are legally chosen by a free Election of "the People to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded, "from doing their duties, but by consent of that House where-"of they are Members: That none but those under the Qualifications therein mention'd, should be capable to serve as "Members in Parliament: That the power of the other House "be limited, as therein is prescribed: That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be observ'd and kept; no Laws alter'd "suspended, abrogated, or repeal'd, but by new Laws made "by Act of Parliament: that the yearly Sum of a Million of "pounds Sterling be settled for the maintenance of the Navy, "and Army; and three hundred thousand pounds for the support of the Government; besides other temporary Supplies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities "of the Nation to require: That the number of the Protector's Council shall not exceed one and twenty; whereof "seven shall be a *Quorum*: The Chief Officers of State, as "Chancellor's, Keepers of the Great Seal *&c.* to be approved "by Parliament: That his Highness would encourage a Godly Ministry in these Nations; and that such as do revile "and disturb them in the Worship of God, may be punish'd "according to Law; and where Laws are defective, new ones "to be made: That the Protestant Christian Religion, as it is "contain'd in the Old and New Testament, be asserted, and "held forth for the publick Profession of these Nations, and "no other; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed upon, "and recommended to the People of these Nations; and none "to be permitted, by words or writing, to revile, or reproach "the said Confession of Faith.

His Speech upon passing it.

WHEN this *Petition* and *Advice* was distinctly read to him, after a long pause, and casting up his Eyes, and other Gestures of perplexity, he sign'd it; and told them, "That he came "not thither that day as to a day of Triumph, but with the "most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his Life, being "to undertake one of the greatest Burdens that ever was laid "upon the back of any human Creature; so that, without "the support of the Almighty, he must necessarily sink under

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"the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of the Na-
"tion committed to his Charge: therefore he desired the help
"of the Parliament, and the help of all those who fear'd God,
"that by their help he might receive help and assistance from
"the hand of God, since nothing but His presence could en-
"able him to discharge so great a Trust. He told them, that
"this was but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Go-
vernment of the three Nations; and therefore he recom-
"mended the supply of the rest, that was yet wanting, to the
"Wisdom of the Parliament; and said, "He could not doubt,
"but the same Spirit that had led the Parliament to this,
"would easily suggest the rest to them; and that nothing
"should have induced him to have undertaken this intole-
"rable burden to flesh and blood, but that he saw, it was the
"Parliament's care to answer those ends for which they were
"engag'd; calling God to witness, "That he would not have
"undergone it, but that the Parliament had determin'd that
"it made clearly for the Liberty and Interest of the Nation,
"and Preservation of such as fear God; and if the Nation were
"not thankful to them for their care, it would fall as a Sin on
"their heads. He concluded with recommending some things
to them, "Which, he said, would tend to Reformation, by
"discountenancing Vice and encouraging Virtue; and so dis-
missed them to return to their House.

But now that they had perform'd all he could expect from them, he resolv'd that he would do somewhat for himself; and that all the discourses which had passed of King-ship, should not pass away in the silence of this Address, but that his Exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity, as should make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he sent a Message to the Parliament, "That they would adjourn until such a time as the solemnity "of his Inauguration should be perform'd; for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed consider'd it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the six and twentieth of *June*; and in the mean time assign'd the care to several Persons, that all things should be made ready for the Magnificence of such a Work.

The Solemnity of his Inauguration.

On the day appointed, *Westminster-Hall* was prepared, and adorn'd as sumptuously as it could be for a day of Coronation. A Throne was erected with a Pavilion, and a Chair of State under it, to which *Cromwell* was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his Officers, Military and Civil, with as much State (and the Sword carried before him) as can be imagin'd. When he was sat in his Chair of State, and after a short Speech, which was but the Prologue of that by the Speaker of the Parliament *Withrington*, that this promotion might

might not seem to be without the Nobility's having any share in it, the Speaker, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Whitlock*, vested him with a rich Purple Velvet Robe lin'd with Ermines; the Speaker enlarging upon the Majesty and the Integrity of that Robe. Then the Speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest Edition, richly Bound; then he, in the name of all the People, girded a Sword about him; and lastly presented him a Scepter of Gold, which he put into his hand, and made him a large discourse of those Emblems of Government and Authority. Upon the close of which, there being little wanting to a perfect formal Coronation, but a Crown and an Arch-Bishop, he took his Oath; administer'd to him by the Speaker, in these words (which amongst other things had been settled by an explanatory Petition and Advice) "I do, in the Presence, and by the Name "of Almighty God, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of "my power, I will uphold, and maintain the true Reform'd "Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is "Contain'd in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testa-"ment; and to the utmost of my power, and understanding, "encourage the Profession and Professors of the same; and "that, to the utmost of my Power, I will endeavour, as Chief "Magistrate of these three Nations, the maintenance and "preserving of the Peace and Safety, and just Rights and Pri-"vileges of the People thereof; and shall in all things, accord-"ing to the best of my knowledge and power, govern the Peo-"ple of these three Nations according to Law.

After this there remain'd nothing but Festivals, and Proclamations of his Power and Authority to be made in the City of *London*, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the Soveraignty they had conferr'd upon him, without any new blasts, and disputes, and might be vacant to the dispatch of his Domestick Affairs, which he had modell'd, and might have time to consider how to fill his other House with Members fit for his purpose, he adjourn'd his Parliament till *January* next, as having done as much as was necessary for one Session. In this vacancy, his greatness seem'd to be so much establish'd both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the Officers of his Army, and all Commanders at Sea to subscribe, and approve all that the Parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

He adjourns his Parliament to January 20.

His Actions in the vacancy of Parliament.

He sent now for his eldest Son *Richard*; who, till this time, had liv'd privately in the Country upon the Fortune his Wife had brought him, in an ordinary Village in *Hamp-shire*, and brought him now to the Court, and made him a Privy Counsellor,

Counſellor, and cauſed him to be choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*. Notwithſtanding all which, few People then believ'd that he intended to name him for his Succeſſor; he by his diſcourſes often implying, "That he would "name ſuch a Succeſſor, as was in all reſpects equal to the "Office: and ſo Men gueſſed this, or that Man, as they thought "moſt like to be eſteem'd by him. His ſecond Son *Harry*, who had the Reputation of more Vigour, he had ſent into *Ireland*, and made him his Lieutenant of that Kingdom, that he might be ſure to have no diſturbance from thence.

His Daughters diſpoſed of in Marriage.

He had only two Daughters unmarried: One of thoſe he gave to the Grand-ſon and Heir of the Earl of *Warwick*, a Man of a great Eſtate, and throughly engaged in the Cauſe from the beginning; the Other was Married to the Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge*, the owner likewiſe of a very fair Eſtate in *York-ſhire*, and deſcended of a Family eminently Loyal. There were many reaſons to believe, that this young Gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of Age, of great Vigour and Ambition, had many good purpoſes, which he thought that Alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. Theſe Marriages were celebrated at *White-Hall* with all imaginable Pomp and Luſtre; and it was obſerv'd, that though the Marriages were perform'd in publick View according to the Rites and Ceremonies then in uſe, they were preſently afterwards in private Married by Miniſters Ordain'd by Biſhops, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of *Cromwell*; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity, and folly of his Daughters.

The Succeſs of his Arms abroad.

These Domeſtick Triumphs were confirm'd, and improv'd by the Succeſs of his Arms abroad. Though the *French* had no mind to apply thoſe Forces upon *Dunkirk*, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into *Cromwell's* hands, and ſo march to other places, which they were to conquer to their own uſe, in which the ſix thouſand *Engliſh* under the Command of *Raynolds* attended them, and behaved themſelves eminently well, and in good diſcipline; yet his Embaſſadour *Lockhart* made ſuch lively Inſtances with the Cardinal, with complaints of their breach of Faith, and ſome Menaces, "That "his Maſter knew where to find a more punctual Friend; that aſſoon as they had taken *Montmedy*, and St *Venant*, the Army march'd into *Flanders*; and though the Seaſon of the year was too far ſpent to engage in a Siege before *Dunkirk*, they ſate down before *Mardike*; which was look'd upon as the moſt difficult part of the Work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that Fort they took, and deliver'd it into the hands of *Raynolds*, with an obligation

"That

"That they would beſiege *Dunkirk* the next year, and make it "their firſt Attempt.

The Victory of his Fleet over the Spaniard.

BUT that which made a noiſe indeed, and Crown'd his Succeſſes, was the Victory his Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, had obtain'd over the *Spaniards*; which, in truth, with all its Circumſtances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in *Spain*, and the *Canaries*. That Fleet had rode out all the Winter Storms before *Cales* and the Coaſt of *Portugal*, after they had ſent home thoſe former Ships which they had taken of the Weſt *Indian* Fleet, and underſtood by the Priſoners, that the other Fleet from *Peru*, which is always much richer than that of *Mexico*, was undoubtedly at Sea, and would be on the Coaſt by the beginning of the Spring, if they receiv'd not Advertiſement of the preſence of the *Engliſh* Fleet; in which caſe they were moſt like to ſtay at the *Canaries*. The Admiral concluded, that, notwithſtanding all they had done, or could do to block up *Cales*, one way or other they would not be without that Advertiſement; and therefore reſolv'd to ſail with the whole Fleet to the length of the *Canaries*, that, if it were poſſible, they might meet with the Galeons before they came thither; and if they ſhould be firſt got in thither, they would then conſider what was to be done.

WITH this Reſolution the Fleet ſtood for the *Canaries*, and about the middle of *April* came thither; and found that the Galeons were got thither before them, and had placed themſelves, as they thought, in ſafety. The ſmaller Ships, being ten in number, lay in a Semicircle, moor'd along the Shore; and the ſix great Galeons (the Fleet conſiſting of ſixteen good Ships) which could not come ſo near the Shore, lay with their broad-ſides towards the Offin. Beſides this good poſture in which all the Ships lay, they were cover'd with a ſtrong Caſtle well furniſh'd with Guns; and there were ſix or ſeven ſmall Forts, raiſed in the moſt advantageous places of the Bay, every one of them furniſh'd with divers good pieces of Cannon; ſo that they were without the leaſt Apprehenſion of their want of ſecurity, or imagination that any Men would be ſo deſperate, as to aſſault them upon ſuch apparent diſadvantage.

WHEN the *Engliſh* Fleet came to the mouth of the Bay of *Santa Cruz*, and the General ſaw in what poſture the *Spaniard* lay, he thought it impoſſible to bring off any of the Galeons; however, he reſolv'd to burn them (which was by many thought to be equally impoſſible) and ſent Captain *Stayner* with a Squadron of the beſt Ships to fall upon the Galeons which he did very reſolutely; whilſt other Frigats entertain'd the Forts, and leſſer Breaſt-works, with continual Broad-ſide

t

to hinder their firing. Then the General coming up with the whole Fleet, after full four hours fight, they drove the *Spaniards* from their Ships, and poſſeſſed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impoſſible to carry away the Ships, which they had taken, but that the Wind that had brought them into the Bay, and enabled them to Conquer the Enemy, would not ſerve to carry them out again; ſo that they lay expoſed to all the Cannon from the Shore; which thunder'd upon them. However; they reſolv'd to do what was in their power; and ſo, diſcharging their broad-ſides upon the Forts and Land, where they did great execution, they ſet fire to every Ship, Galeons, and others, and burn'd every one of them; which they had no ſooner done, but it happen'd the Wind turn'd, and carried the whole Fleet without loſs of one Ship out of the Bay, and put them ſafe to Sea again.

THE whole Action was ſo miraculous, that all Men who knew the place, wonder'd that any ſober Men, with what Courage ſoever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly perſwade themſelves to believe what they had done; whilſt the *Spaniards* comforted themſelves with the belief, that they were Devils and not Men who had deſtroyed them in ſuch a manner. So much a ſtrong reſolution of bold and couragious Men can bring to paſs, that no reſiſtance and advantage of ground can diſappoint them. And it can hardly be imagin'd, how ſmall loſs the *Engliſh* ſuſtain'd in this unparallel'd Action; no one Ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred Men, when the Slaughter on board the *Spaniſh* Ships, and on the Shore was incredible.

THE Fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it neceſſary to return home. And this was the laſt ſervice perform'd by *Blake*; who Sicken'd in his Return, and in the very entrance of the Fleet into the Sound of *Plymouth*, expired. He wanted no Pomp of Funeral when he was dead, *Cromwell* cauſing him to be brought up by Land to *London* in all the State that could be; and to encourage his Officers to venture their Lives, that they might be Pompouſly Buried, he was, with all the Solemnity poſſible, and at the Charge of the Publick, Interr'd in *Harry* the Seventh's Chappel, among the Monuments of the King's. He was a Man of a private Extraction; yet had enough left him by his Father to give him a good Education; which his own Inclination diſpoſed him to receive in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; where he took the degree of a Maſter of Arts; and was enough verſed in Books for a Man who intended not to be of any Profeſſion, having ſufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and

Blake returns with the Fleet; dies in the way.

His Burial, and Character.

and having then no appearance of Ambition to be a greater Man than he was. He was of a melancholick and a ullen Nature, and ſpent his time moſt with Good-fellows, who liked his moroſeneſs, and a freedom he uſed in inveighing againſt the Licence of the time, and the Power of the Court. They who knew him inwardly, diſcover'd that he had an Anti-Monarchical Spirit, when few Men thought the Government in any danger. When the Troubles begun, he quickly declared himſelf againſt the King; and having ſome Command in *Briſtol*, when it was firſt taken by Prince *Rupert* and the Marquis of *Hertford*, being truſted with the Command of a little Fort upon the Line, he refuſed to give it up, after the Governour had ſign'd the Articles of Surrender, and kept it ſome hours after the Prince was in the Town, and kill'd ſome of the Soldiers; for which the Prince reſolv'd to hang him, if ſome Friends had not interpoſed for him, upon his want of experience in War; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. After this, having done eminent Service to the Parliament, eſpecially at *Taunton*, at Land, He then betook himſelf wholly to the Sea; and quickly made himſelf ſignal there. He was the firſt Man that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt that the Science might be attained in leſs time than was imagin'd; and deſpiſed thoſe Rules which had been long in practice, to keep his Ship and his Men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great Ability and Circumſpection; as if the principal Art requiſite in the Captain of a Ship had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt Man who brought the Ships to contemn Caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcover'd by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of Courage into the Sea-men, by making them ſee by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were reſolv'd; and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon Water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the Example of that kind of Naval Courage, and bold and reſolute Atchievements.

The Parliament comes together Jan. 20.

After all this Luſtre and Glory, in which the Protector ſeem'd to flouriſh, the ſeaſon of the year threaten'd ſome tempeſt and foul weather. *January* brought the Parliament again together. They did not reaſſemble with the ſame temper, and reſignation, in which they parted; and it quickly appear'd how unſecure new Inſtitutions of Government are; and when the Contrivers of them have provided, as they think, againſt all miſchievous Contingencies, they find, that they

they have unwarily left a gap open to let their Destruction in upon them.

CROMWELL thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the Commons, by having call'd the other House; which by the *Petition* and *Advice* was to be done; and having fill'd it, for the most part, with the Officers of the Army, and such others as he had good reason to be confident of. So on the twentieth of *January*, the day appointed to meet (whereas, before, the Parliament used to attend him in the Painted Chamber, when he had any thing to say to them; now) he came to the House of Lords; where his new Creations were; then he sent the Gentleman Usher of the black Rod to call the Commons to him. And they being conducted to the Bar of that House, He being placed in his Chair under a Cloth of State, begun his Speech in the old Style, "My Lords, and You, the Knights, "Citizens, and Burgesses, of the House of Commons: and then discoursed some particulars, which he recommended to them; thanked them "For their fair Correspondence the last "Session; and assured them, "If they would continue to pro- "secute his Designs, they should be called the blessed of the "Lord, and Generations to come shall bless them. *Cromwell speaks to them.*

BUT assoon as the Commons came to their House, they caused the third Article of the *Petition* and *Advice* to be read; by which it was provided, that no Member legally chosen should be excluded from the performance of their Duty, but by consent of that House of which they were Members. Upon which they proceeded to the calling over their House, and readmitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that Recognition of the Protector; and by this means, above a hundred of the most inveterate Enemies the Protector had, came and sate in the House; among whom were Sr *Harry Vane*, *Haslerig*, and many other signal Men who had much the more Credit and Interest in the House, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the Commonwealth; many of those who had subscribed it, valuing themselves for having thereby become Instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise have come to be readmitted. *The House of Commons readmit all their Members that had been excluded, by Virtue of a Clause in the Petition and Advice.*

ASSOON as these Men came into the House, they begun to question the Authority and Jurisdiction of the other House; "That it was true, the *Petition* and *Advice* had admitted, there "should be such an House; but that it should be a House of "Peers, that they should be called *My Lords*, there was no "provision; nor did it appear what Jurisdiction it should "have: that it would be a very ridiculous thing, if they should "suffer those who were created by themselves, and sate only *Their transactions afterwards.*

'by

"by their Vote, to be better Men than They, and to have "a Negative Voice to controle their Masters. When they had enough vilified them, they question'd the Protector's Authority to send Writs to call them thither: "Who gave him "that Authority to make Peers? that it had been the proper "business of that House to have provided for all this; which "it is probable they would have done at this meeting, if he "had not presumptuously taken that Sovereign power upon "him.

CROMWELL was exceedingly surprised, and perplexed with this new Spirit; and found that he had been short-sighted in not having provided, at the same time, for the filling his House of Commons, when he erected his other of Peers: for he had taken away those out of that House who were the boldest Speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other House, without supplying those other places by Men who could as well undergo the Work of the other. However, he made one effort more; and Conven'd both Houses before him; and very Magisterially, and in a Dialect he had never used before, reprehended them for presuming to question his Authority. "The other House, he said, were Lords, "and should be Lords; and commanded Them "To enter "upon such business, as might be for the benefit, not the di-"straction of the Common-wealth; which he would with "God's Help prevent. And when he found this Animadversion did not reform them, but that they continued in their presumption, and every day improv'd their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his House of Lords upon the fourth of *February*; and sending for the Commons, after he had used many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, "That "it concern'd his Interest, as much as the Peace and Tran-"quillity of the Nation, to dissolve that Parliament; and "therefore he did put an end to their sitting. So that Cloud was, for the present, dissipated, that threaten'd so great a Storm.

Cromwell Convenes both Houses, and speaks to them.

He Dissolves that Parliament Feb. 4.

THE Parliament being dissolv'd, *Cromwell* found himself at ease to prosecute his other designs. After the taking of *Mardike*, *Raynolds*, who was Commander in chief of that Body of the *English* in the Service of *France*, endeavouring to give his Friends in *England* a visit, was, together with some other Officers, who accompanied him, cast away, and drown'd at Sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the Parliament, *Lockhart*, who was the Protector's Embassadour in *France*, was design'd to take that Charge upon him; and all things which were to be Transported from *England*, for the prosecution of the business in *Flanders* the next Spring, were dispatch'd with the more care, and punctuality, that there might be

Raynolds cast away coming out of Flanders.

be no room left for the Cardinal to imagine, that the Protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction, and ill humour of the Parliament.

ASSOON as he was rid of That, he thought it as neceſſary to give ſome Inſtances at home, how little he feared thoſe Men who were thought to be ſo much his Rivals in power, and in the opinion of the Army, that he durſt not diſoblige them. And therefore, after ſome ſharp expoſtulations with *Lambert*, who was as poſitive in his own humour, he ſent to him for his Commiſſion; which he ſullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refuſed to have deliver'd it. So he was deprived of his Regiment, his authority in the Army, and of being Major General in the North, in an inſtant, without the leaſt appearance of contradiction or murmur; and the Officers *Cromwell* ſubſtituted in the ſeveral places, found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and *Lambert* retired to his Garden as unviſited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in Authority; which gave great reputation to the Protector, that he was entire Maſter of his Army.

Cromwell turns Lambert out of the Army.

HE had obſerved, throughout the Parliament, that the Major Generals were extremely odious to the People, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilſt his Party were proſecuting to have his Authority confirm'd to him, and that he might have the Title of King conferr'd upon him, *Lambert* was as ſollicitous to have the Major Generals confirm'd by Parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it; which, with the authority they had of lifting Men in a readineſs, would have made their power, and their ſtrength, in a ſhort time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, *Cromwell* was content to continue their Names, that they might ſtill be formidable in the Countries, but Abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to Himſelf.

He abridges the power of his Major Generals.

HE took likewiſe an occaſion from an accident that happen'd, to amuſe the People with the apprehenſion of Plots at home to facilitate an Invaſion from abroad; and ſending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to attend him, he made them a large diſcourſe of the danger they were in of being ſurpriſed; "That there was a deſign to ſeiſe upon the Tower; and "at the ſame time that there ſhould be a general Inſurrection "in the City of the Cavaliers, and diſcontented Party, whilſt "the City remain'd ſo ſecure, that they had put their Militia "into no poſture to be ready to preſerve themſelves in ſuch an "Attempt; but on the contrary, that they were ſo negligent "in their Diſcipline, that the Marquis of *Ormond* had lain ſe- "curely in the City full three Weeks without being diſcover'd; "who was ſent over by the King to countenance a general

He acquaints the L. Mayor &c. of the City with a Plot of the Cavaliers, and the Marquis of Ormond's being in England.

"Insurrection, whilst the King himself, he said, had ten thou-
"sand Men ready at *Bruges*, with two and twenty Ships,
"with which he meant to invade some other more Northern
"part of the Kingdom. He wish'd them "To lose no time in
"putting their Militia into a good posture, and to make very
"strict searches to discover what Strangers were harbour'd
"within the Walls of the City, and to keep good Watches
"every Night. He order'd double Guards to be set about the Tower; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary Occasion for all this, he caused very many Persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the King's Party, to be surprised in the Night in their Beds (for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious) and after some short Examination, to be sent to the Tower; and to other Prisons; for there was, at the same time, the same severity used in the several Counties; for the better explanation, and understanding whereof, it will be necessary now that We return to *Flanders*.

Many Persons seised on upon that Account.

The King's Affairs in Flanders.

WITHIN little more than two Months after the King's coming to *Bruges*, the little Treaty which had been sign'd by the Arch-Duke with the King, was sent ratified from *Madrid* by the King of *Spain*, with many great compliments; which the King was willing should be believ'd to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuses for the Lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those Services which are due from, and to a great King, they let his Majesty know, "That the Catholick King had assigned
"so many Crowns as amounted to six thousand Guilders, to
"be paid every Month towards a Royal Aid; and half so much
"more, for the support of the Duke of *Glocester*; that though
"the Sum was very small, it was as much as their necessi-
"ties would bear; and the smallness should be recompensed
"by the punctuality of the payment; the first payment being to be made about the middle of the next Month; without taking notice that the King had been already in that Country near three Months, during which time he had not received the least Present, or assistance towards his support.

THEY were willing that the King should raise four Regiments of Foot, which should march with their Army, until the King should find the season ripe to make an Invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the Treaty to give. But for the raising those four Regiments, there was not one penny allow'd; or any other encouragement, than little Quarters to bring their Men to; and, after their Muster, the common allowance of Bread. However, the King was glad of the opportunity to employ, and dispose of many Offi-

cers

cers and Soldiers, who flock'd to him from the time of his first coming into *Flanders*. He resolv'd to raise one Regiment of Guards, the Command whereof he gave to the Lord *Wentworth*, which was to do duty in the Army as Common Men, till his Majesty should be in such a posture, that they might be brought about his Person. The Marquis of *Ormond* had a Regiment in order to be commanded by his Lieutenant Colonel, that the *Irish* might be tempted to come over. The Earl of *Rochester* would have a Regiment, that such Officers and Soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his Command: and because the *Scots* had many Officers about the Court, who pretended that they could draw many of their Country Men to them, the King gave the fourth Regiment to the Lord *Newburgh*, a Nobleman of that Kingdom, of great courage; who had serv'd his Father and himself with very signal fidelity. Those four Regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagin'd, upon so little encouragement.

The King raises four Regiments of his Subjects in Flanders.

ASSOON as the Treaty was confirm'd, in truth, from the time that his Majesty came into *Flanders*, and that he resolv'd to make as entire a Conjunction with the *Spaniards* as they would permit, he gave notice to the King of *France*, that he would no longer receive that Pension, which, during the time he had remain'd at *Cologne*, had been reasonably well paid; but, after his coming into *Flanders*, he never would receive any part of it.

The King no longer receives any Pension from France.

THE *Spanish* Army was at this time before *Conde*; a place Garrison'd by the *French* between *Valenciennes*, and *Cambray*; which was invested now by *Don Juan*; who finding that the greatest part of the Garrison consisted of *Irish*, and that there was in it a Regiment commanded by *Muskerry*, a Nephew of the Marquis of *Ormond*, he thought this a good season to manifest the dependence the *Irish* had upon the King; and therefore writ to his Majesty at *Bruges*, and desired that he would send the Marquis to the Camp; which his Majesty could not refuse; and the Marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the same time the Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to *Brussels* (under pretence of soliciting the payment of the three first Months, which were assign'd to the King) to confer with *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* upon all such particulars as might be necessary, to adjust some design for the Winter upon *England*; *Don Juan* and the Marquis of *Carracena*, referring all things which related to *England* to *Don Alonzo*, and being very glad that the Chancellor went to *Brussels*, at the same time that the Marquis went to the Camp, that so a correspondence between them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on either side.

The Marquis of Ormond sent to treat with the Lord Muskerry at Condè about his Regiment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent to Brussels to confer with Don Alonzo de Cardinas.

CONDE was reduced to ſtreights by the time the Marquis came thither; who was receiv'd with much more civility by *Don Juan*, at leaſt by the Marquis of *Carracena*, than any Man who related to the King, or indeed than the King himſelf. The thing they deſired of him was, that when the Garriſon ſhould be reduced, which was then Capitulating, he would prevail with thoſe of the *Iriſh* Nation, when they march'd out, to enter into the *Spaniſh* Service, that is, as they call'd it, to ſerve their own King: for they talked of nothing but going over in the Winter into *England*; eſpecially they deſired that his Nephew *Muskerry*, who had the reputation of a ſtout and an excellent Officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his Regiment, which was much the beſt, whatever the other would do. After the Capitulation was ſigned, the Marquis eaſily found opportunity to confer with his Nephew, and the other Officers of the ſeveral Regiments. When he had inform'd them of the King's pleaſure, and that the entring into the ſervice of the *Spaniard* was, for the preſent, neceſſary in order to the King's Service, the other Regiments made no ſcruple of it; and engaged, aſſoon as they march'd out, to go whither they ſhould be directed.

The Succeſs of the Marquis's conference with Muskerry.

ONLY *Muskerry* expreſly refuſed that either himſelf, or any of his Men ſhould leave their Colours, till, according to his Articles, they ſhould march into *France*. He ſaid, "It was "not conſiſtent with his honour to do otherwiſe. But he declared, "That aſſoon as he ſhould come into *France*, he would "leave his Regiment in their Quarters; and would himſelf "Ride to the Court, and demand his Paſs; which, by his "contract with the Cardinal was to be given to him, when-"ever his own King ſhould demand his Service; and his Re-"giment ſhould likewiſe be permitted to march with him. It was urged to him, "That it was now in his own power to "diſpoſe of himſelf; which he might lawfully do; but that, "when he was found in *France*, he would no more have it in "his power. He ſaid, "He was bound to ask his diſmiſſion, "and the Cardinal was bound to give it: and when he had "done His part, he was very confident the Cardinal would "not break his word with him; but if he ſhould, he would "get nothing by it; for he knew his Men would follow him "whitherſoever he went; and therefore deſired his Uncle to "ſatisfy himſelf; and to aſſure the King and *Don Juan*, that "he would, within ſix weeks, return; and if he might have "Quarters aſſign'd him, his Regiment ſhould be there within "few days after him. It was in vain to preſs him farther, and the Marquis telling *Don Juan*, that he believ'd he would "keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had a much better eſteem of him than of the other Officers,

ficers, who came to him, and brought over their Men without any Ceremony.

MUSKERY march'd away with the reſt of the Garriſon; and aſſoon as he was in *France*, rode to *Paris*; where the Cardinal then was; who receiv'd him with extraordinary Grace; but when he ask'd his diſmiſſion, and urged his Capitulation, the Cardinal, by all imaginable Careſſes, and promiſes of a penſion, endeavour'd to divert him from the inclination; told him, "That this was only to ſerve the *Spaniard*, "and not his own King; who had no employment for him; "that if he would ſtay in their Service till the King had need "of him, he would take care to ſend him, and his Regi- "ment, in a better Condition to his Majeſty, than they were "now in. When he could neither by promiſes, nor reproaches, divert him from quitting their Service, he gave him a Paſs only for Himſelf; and expreſly refuſed to diſmiſs the Regiment; averring, "That he was not bound to it, be- "cauſe there could be no pretence that they could ſerve the "King; who had no uſe of them, nor wherewithal to pay "them.

MUSKERRY took what he could get, his own Paſs; and made haſte to the place where his Regiment was; and after he had given them ſuch directions as he thought neceſſary, he came away only with two or three Servants to *Bruſſels*, and deſired *Don Juan* to aſſign him convenient Quarters for his Regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no ſooner gave notice to them whither they ſhould come, but they behaved themſelves ſo, that, by ſixes and ſevens, his whole Regiment, Officers and Soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place aſſign'd them; and brought their Arms with them; which the *Spaniard* was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preſervation of that Regiment, as of any that was in their Service. *Muskery brings his Regiment over to the Spaniards.*

WHEN the Marquis propoſed any thing that concern'd the King, during the time he was in the Army, *Don Juan* ſtill writ to *Don Alonzo* to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it; who found *Don Alonzo* in all reſpects ſo untractable, and ſo abſolutely govern'd by the *Iriſh* Jeſuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the Levellers, that, after he had receiv'd the Money that was aſſign'd to the King, he return'd to *Bruges*, as the Marquis did from the Army, when the buſineſs of *Conde* was over. *The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Conferences with Don Alonzo.*

IT was well enough known, at leaſt generally believ'd, from the time that the ſecret confidence begun between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal, and long before *Lockhart* appear'd there as Embaſſadour, that the Cardinal had not only pro-

miſed, "That the King ſhould receive no aſſiſtance from "thence; but that no body who related to his Service, or "againſt whom any exception ſhould be taken, ſhould be per- "mitted to reſide in *France*; and that, as the King had al- ready been driven thence; ſo when the time ſhould be ripe, the Duke of *York* would be likewiſe neceſſitated to leave that Kingdom. And now, upon the King's coming into *Flanders*, and upon the coming over of the ſix thouſand *Engliſh* for the Service of *France*, and the publication of the Treaty with *Cromwell*, the *French* did not much deſire to keep that Article ſecret which provided againſt the King's reſiding in that Kingdom, and for the excluſion of the Duke of *York*, and many other Perſons, by Name, who attended upon the King, and ſome who had Charges in the Army. And the Cardinal, and the Queen, with ſome ſeeming regret, communicated it to the Duke, as a thing they could not refuſe, and infinitely la- mented, with many profeſſions of kindneſs and everlaſting reſpects; and all this in confidence, and that he might know it ſome time before it was to be executed by his departure.

The Cardinal gives notice to the Duke of York *that he muſt leave the* French *Service.*

AMONGST thoſe who by that ſecret Article were to leave the *French* Service, the Earl of *Briſtol* was one, whoſe Name was, as was generally believ'd, put into the Article by the Cardinal, rather than by *Cromwell*. For the Earl, having re- ceiv'd very great Obligations from the Cardinal, thought his Intereſt greater in the Queen than in truth it was (according to his Natural Cuſtom of deceiving himſelf) and ſo, in the Cardinals diſgrace and retirement, had ſhew'd himſelf leſs inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the Cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the ſame fami- liarity as before (which the Earl took for pure Friendſhip) until the time came for the publiſhing this Treaty, when the Earl was Lieutenant General of the Army in *Italy*. Then he ſent for him; and bewailed the Condition that *France* was in, "Which obliged them to receive Commands from *Crom-* "*well*, which were very uneaſy to them; then told him, "that he could ſtay no longer in their Service, and that they "muſt be compell'd to diſmiſs the Duke of *York* himſelf; but made infinite profeſſions of kindneſs, and "That they would "part with him, as with a Man that had done them great "Service. The Earl, who could always much better bear ill Accidents than prevent them, believ'd that all proceeded from the Malice of *Cromwell*; and quickly had the Image of a bet- ter Fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and ſo ſet- ting his heart upon the getting as good a ſupply of Money from them as he could, and the Cardinal deſiring to part fairly with him, he receiv'd ſuch a preſent, as enabled him to remove with a handſome Equipage in Servants and Horſes.

The Earl of Briſtol *order'd alſo to leave* France.

So

So he came directly for *Bruges* to the King; to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his Majesty left *Paris*. But his business there was only to present his Duty to his Majesty; where after he had stay'd two or three days, he made his Journey to the Army to offer his Service to *Don Juan*, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the King. *Comes to Bruges to the King.*

THERE was nothing more known, than that the *Spaniard* had all imaginable prejudice and hatred against the Earl, both for the little kindness he had shew'd towards them in *England*, whilst he was Secretary of State, of which *Don Alonzo* was a faithful Remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary Animosity he had expressed against them from the time that he had been in the *French* Service; which anger'd them the more, because he had been born in *Spain*. He had then likewise render'd himself particularly odious to *Flanders*; where he was proclaim'd, and detested, in all the Rhymes and Songs of the Country, for the savage Outrages his Forces had committed by Fire and Plunder, two years before, when he made a Winter Incursion with his Troops into that Country; and committed greater Waste than ever the *French* themselves had done, when the Forces were Commanded by them. Upon all which, his Friends dissuaded him at *Bruges* from going to the *Spanish* Army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisement; and told them, "That all the time he was in "*France*, he was out of his Sphere; and that his own Genius "always disposed him to *Spain*; where he now resolv'd to "make his Fortune. And with this confidence he left *Bruges*, and went to the Army, when it had newly taken *Condè*; where he found his reception such, both from *Don Juan* and the Marquis of *Carracena*, as he had reason to expect; which did not at all deject him.

HE was present when *Don Juan* Eat, and when he used to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly of Scholastick points, if his Confessor, or any other Learned Person, was present. The Earl always interposed in those discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the *Spanish* Language, made his Parts wonder'd at by every Body; and *Don Juan* begun to be very much pleased with his Company; and the more, because he was much given to speculations in Astrology; in which he found the Earl so much more conversant than any Man he had met with, that, within a Week after he had first seen him, he desired the Earl to calculate his Nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to *Don Juan*; which when the Marquis of *Carracena* discern'd, he likewise treated him with more respect; *Ingratiates himself with Don Juan notwithstanding great prejudice the Spaniard had against him.*

in which he found likewise his account: for the Earl having been Lieutenant General of the *French* Army under Prince *Thomas*, in conjunction with the Duke of *Modena*, against *Millain*, the very year before, when the Marquis of *Carracena* was Governour there, he could both discourse the several Transactions there with the Marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions, both in his presence and absence, to magnify his Conduct in signal Actions; which the Marquis was very glad to see, and hear, that he did very frequently. And *Don Alonzo* being sent for to the Army to consult some Affair, though he had all imaginable detestation of the Earl, and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in *Don Juan* and the Marquis, when he found him in so much favour with both, he treated him likewise with more regard; and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the Affairs of *England*; which he desired *Don Juan* and the Marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a Month in *Flanders*, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the Court, and to the Army; and suppressed, and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him; and *Don Juan* invited him to spend the Winter with him at *Brussels*.

He is Instrumental in recovering St Ghislain to the Spaniards.

THERE was another Accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own Stars. The *French* had yet a Garrison at a place call'd S^t *Ghislain*; which being within a few Leagues of *Brussels*, infested the whole Country very much, and even put them into Mutiny against the Court, that they would think of any other Expedition before they had reduced that Garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to desist. Half the Garrison were *Irish*, under the Command of *Schomberg*, an Officer of the first Rank. Some of the Officers were nearly ally'd to S^r *George Lane*, who was Secretary to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and had written to him to know, "Whether the "giving up that place would be a Service to the King? And "if it would, they would undertake it. The Marquis sent his Secretary to inform the Earl of *Bristol* of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from Heaven to raise his Fortune with the *Spaniard*. He communicated it to *Don Juan*, as a matter in his own disposal, and to be conducted by Persons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a Service to the King. So now he became entrusted between the King and *Don Juan*; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; *Don Juan* being very glad to find he had so much Interest in the King, and the King well pleased that he had such Credit with *Don Juan*, of whose Assistance in the next Winter he thought he should have much use;

uſe; for all attempts upon *England* muſt be in the Winter. In a word, this Affair of S^t *Ghiſlain* was very acceptable to the *Spaniards*; their Campagne being ended without any other conſiderable Action than the taking of *Conde*. They foreſaw a very ſad year would ſucceed, if they ſhould enter into the Field, where they were ſure the *French* would be early, and leave S^t *Ghiſlain* behind them; and they ſhould run more hazard if they begun with the Siege of that place; and therefore they authoriſed the Earl to promiſe great rewards in Money, and Penſions, to thoſe Officers, and Soldiers, who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was ſo well carried, that *Don Juan* aſſembled his Army together a little before *Chriſtmas*, in a very great froſt, and coming before the place, though *Schomberg* diſcover'd the Conſpiracy, and apprehended two or three of the Officers; yet the Soldiers, which were upon the Guards in ſome out-Forts, declaring themſelves at the ſame time, and receiving the *Spaniards*, he was compell'd to make Conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the reſt.

THIS Service was of very great importance to the *Spaniards*, and no leſs detriment to the *French*, and conſequently gave great Reputation to the Earl; who then came to the King at *Bruges*, and ſaid all that he thought fit of *Don Juan* to the King, and amongſt the reſt, "That *Don Juan* adviſed "his Majeſty to ſend ſome diſcreet Perſons to *Madrid*, to ſol- "licite his Affairs there; but that he did not think the Per- "ſon he had deſign'd to ſend thither (who was S^r *Harry de Vic*, that had been long Reſident in *Bruſſels*) "Would be ac- "ceptable there. This was only to introduce another Perſon, who was dear to him, S^r *Henry Bennet*, who had been formerly in his Office when he was Secretary of State, and bred by him; and was now Secretary to the Duke of *York*; but upon the Factions that were in that Family was ſo uneaſy in his place, that he deſired to be in any other Poſt; and was about this time come to the King, as a forerunner to inform him of the Duke of *York*'s purpoſe to be ſpeedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the Court of *France*, *Bennet* had been long a Perſon very acceptable to the King; and therefore his Majeſty readily conſented, that he ſhould go to *Madrid* inſtead of *de Vic*: So he return'd with the Earl to *Bruſſels*, that he might be preſented, and made known to *Don Juan*: from whom the Earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

He obtains of the King that Sir H. Bennet *ſhould be ſent Envoy to* Madrid.

THE time was now come that the Duke of *York* found it neceſſary to leave *Paris*, and ſo came to the King to *Bruges*; where there were then all the viſible hopes of the Crown of *England* together; and all the Royal Iſſue of the late King, the Princeſs

The Duke of York *leaves* Paris, *and comes to the King at* Bruges.

Princess *Henrietta* only excepted; for, besides the King and his two Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, the Princess Royal of *Orange* made that her way from *Paris* into the Low Countries, and stay'd there some days with her Brothers.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made Lord Chancellor.

It was at this time that the King made the Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Chancellor of *England*, Sr *Edward Herbert*, who was the last Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, being lately dead at *Paris*. Now the King put the Seal, which he had till then kept Himself, into the hands of the Chancellor; which he receiv'd very unwillingly: but the King first employ'd the Marquis of *Ormond*, with whom his Majesty knew he had an entire Friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which when he could not do (he giving him many reasons, besides his own unfitness, why there was no need of such an Officer, or indeed any use of the Great Seal till the King should come into *England*; and "That his Majesty found some "ease in being without such an Officer, that he was not trou- "bled with those Suites, which he would be, if the Seal were "in the hands of a proper Officer to be used, since every Body "would be then importuning the King for the Grant of Of- "fices, Honours, and Lands, which would give him great vexa- "tion to refuse, and do him as great mischief by granting. The which when the Marquis told the King) his Majesty himself went to the Chancellor's Lodging, and took notice of what the Marquis had told him; and said, "He would deal truly and "freely with him; that the principal reason which he had al- "ledged against receiving the Seal, was the greatest reason that "disposed him to confer it upon him. Thereupon he pulled Letters out of his Pocket, which he receiv'd lately from *Paris*, from the Grant of several Reversions in *England* of Offices, and of Lands; one whereof was of the Queen's House and Lands of *Oatlands*, to the same Man who had purchased it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good Sum of Money to that Person who was to procure such a confirmation of his Title; the draught whereof was prepared at *London*, upon confidence that it would have the Seal presently put to it; which being in the King's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the secret. His Majesty told him also of many other Importunities, with which he was every day disquieted; and "That he saw no other remedy to give him- "self ease, than to put the Seal out of his own keeping, into "such hands as would not be importuned, and would help "him to deny. And thereupon he conjured the Chancellor to receive that Trust, with many gracious promises of his Favour and Protection. Whereupon the Earl of *Bristol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, using likewise Their perswasions, he submitted

mitted to the King's pleasure; who deliver'd the Seal to him in the Council, in the *Christmas* time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit to be mention'd, because many great Affairs, and some Alterations accompanied, though not attended upon it.

AFTER so long and so dark a retirement in *Cologne*, the King's very coming into *Flanders* raised the Spirits of his Friends in *England*. And when they were assured that there was a Treaty sign'd between his Majesty and the King of *Spain*, they made no doubt of an Army sufficient to begin the business, and then that the general affections of the Kingdom would finish it. The King, who had hitherto restrain'd his Friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture, that they might be ready to joyn with him when he appear'd; which he hoped the *Spaniard* would enable him to do in the depth of Winter. Several Messengers were sent from *England* to assure him, "That there was so "universal a readiness there, that they could hardly be per- "swaded to stay to expect the King, but they would begin "the Work Themselves: yet they complain'd much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the King, and They again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, "That they would ruin themselves, "and all People who should joyn with them.

Transactions of the King's Friends in England

THE King was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those, who, if they were united, would find the Work very hard; and though he preferr'd in his own opinion the judgment of those that were most wary, yet it concern'd him to prevent the other from appearing in an unseasonable Engagement; and therefore He sent to them, and conjured them "To attempt nothing, till he sent a Person to them, who, "if they were ready, should have Authority enough to per- "swade the rest to a conjunction with them, and should him- "self be fit to conduct them in any reasonable Enterprise.

THE Marquis of *Ormond* had frankly offer'd to the King, "that he would privately go into *England*, and confer with "those who were most forward; and if he found, that their "councels were discreetly laid, he would encourage them, "and unite all the rest to them; and if matters were not ripe, "he would compose them to be quiet; and there was no Man in *England* affected to the King's Service, who would not be readily advised by him. The Chancellor would by no means consent to his Journey, as an unreasonable Adventure upon an improbable design, seeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the Marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger; and it cannot be conceiv'd, with

which was the occasion of the Marquis of Ormond's going into England.

with what security all Men ventur'd every day, in the height of *Cromwell*'s jealousy and vigilance, to go into *England*, and to stay a month in *London*, and return again. The King consenting to the Journey, the chief care was, that the Marquis's absence from *Bruges* might not create jealousy, and discourse, "Whither he should be gone. Therefore it was for some time discoursed, "That the Marquis of *Ormond* was to "go into *Germany* to the Duke of *Newburgh* (who was known to have affection for the King) and "That he should from "thence bring with him two Regiments for the Service of "his Majesty.

THESE discourses being generally made and believ'd, the Marquis took his Leave publickly of the King, with his Servants fit for such a Journey, who continued the Journey towards *Germany*; so that the Letters from *Cologne* to all places gave an Account of the Marquis of *Ormond*'s being there; whilst he himself, with one only Servant, and O *Neile* (who had encouraged him very much to that undertaking) took the way of *Holland*; and hired a Bark at *Schevelin*; in which they Embarked, and were safely landed in *Essex*; from whence, without any trouble, they got to *London*, whilst the Parliament was still sitting. When he was there, he found means to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose Advice, and Interest, the King most depended, and against whose positive Advice his Majesty would not suffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an Animosity between many of those who equally wish'd the King's Restoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience, and were of the greatest reputation with those who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expose themselves in Meetings or Correspondencies before, complain'd very much of "The rash-"ness of the other, who believ'd any Officer of the Army "that pretended discontent, and would presently desire them "to communicate with such Persons; which because they re-"fused (as they had reason) the others loaded them with re-"proaches, as having lost all affection and zeal for his Majesty's "Service. They protested, "That they could not discover "or believe that there was any such preparations in readiness, "that it could be counsellable to appear in Arms against a "Government so fortified, and established, as the Protector's "seem'd to be: that it was probable the Parliament might "not comply with *Cromwell*'s desires; and then there was "such a discovery of Malice between several Persons of po-"tent Condition, that many advantages might be offer'd to "the King's Party: if they would have the patience to attend "the

The temper he found the King's friends in.

"the event, and till those Factions should be engaged in "blood, they might be sure to advance the King's Interest in "disposing of themselves; but if they should engage, before "such a time, in any Insurrection, or by seising some insigni- "ficant Town, all dissenting Parties would be reconciled, till "the King's Friends should all be ruin'd, though they might "afterwards return to their old Animosities. In a word, though they appear'd very wary, they declared such a resigna- tion to the King's pleasure, "That, if the Marquis were sa- "tisfied, upon his conference with other Men, that the time "was ripe for their appearance in Arms, they would presently "receive his Orders; and do what he should require, how un- "successfully soever.

On the other side, there were many younger Men, who, having had no part in the former War, were impatient to shew their courage and affection to the King. And those Men, be- ing acquainted with many of the old Officers of the late King's Army, who saw many of their old Soldiers now in *Cromwell's* Army, and found them to talk after their old manner, con- cluded that they would all appear for the King, assoon as they should see his colours flying. These Men talking together, would often discourse, how easy a thing it would be, with two Troops of Horse, to beat up such a Quarter, or seise such a Guard; and then those Men consulted how to get those Troops, and found Men who had listed so many, which would be ready upon call. There were always in these Meetings some Citizens, who undertook for the affection of the City; and some of these made little doubt of seising upon the Tower. And truly the putting many Gentlemen's Sons as Apprentices into the City, since the beginning of the Troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that People. It was upon this kind of Materials, that many honest Men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from Officers of the Army, who were as little to be depended upon.

There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper, which passing from hand to hand had made Men impatient to be in Arms; which was an opi- nion, that the King was even ready to land with such an Army as would be able to do his business. This had been dispersed by some who had been sent Expresses into *Flanders*; who, though they always lay conceal'd during the time they waited for their dispatches from the King, yet found some Friends and acquaintance about the Court, or in their way, who thought they did the King good service in making his Majesty be thought to be in a good condition; and so fill'd those People with such discourses, as would make them most welcome when they return'd.

When

When the Marquis had taken the full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer People to be quiet, and not to think of any Action till they should be infallibly sure of the King's being landed, and confirm'd the other in their wariness; and being informed that *Cromwell* knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he thought it time to return. And so about the time that the Parliament was dissolv'd, he was conducted by Dr *Quartermaine*, the King's Physician, through *Sussex*; and there Embarked, and safely Transported into *France*; from whence he came into *Flanders*.

The Marquis returns out of England.

This gave the Occasion to *Cromwell* to make that discourse before mentioned to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, of the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*'s having been three Weeks in the City; of which he had receiv'd perfect Intelligence from a hand that was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into *Cromwell*'s hand; which he could easily have done; of which more shall be said hereafter. But when the Protector was well assured that the Marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused all Persons, who he knew had, or he thought might, have spoken with him, to be apprehended. All Prisons, as well in the Country as the City, were fill'd with those who had been of the King's Party, or he believ'd would be; and he thought this a necessary season to terrify his Enemies, of all conditions, within the Kingdom, with Spectacles which might mortify them.

Cromwell apprehends several Persons.

In the preparations which had been made towards an Insurrection, many Persons in the Country, as well as in the City, had receiv'd Commissions for Regiments of Horse and Foot; and, amongst the rest, one Mr *Stapley*, a Gentleman of a good extraction, and a good fortune in the County of *Sussex*; whose Mother had been Sister to the Earl of *Norwich*, but his Father had been in the Number of the blackest Offenders, and one of the King's Judges. This Son of his, who now possessed his Estate, had taken great pains to mingle in the Company of those who were known to have affection for the King; and, upon all occasions, made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his Father's Crime, to venture his own life, and his Fortune, for his Majesty's Restoration; and not only his Fortune, but his Interest was considerable in that Maritime County: so that Many thought fit to cherish those Inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that Estate, which the Treason of his Father had forfeited.

Mr Stapley's Engagement for the King.

Mr Mordaunt is active for the King.

There was a young Gentleman, *John Mordaunt*, the younger Son, and Brother, of the Earls of *Peterborough*; who, having

having been too young to be engaged in the late War, during which time he had his Education in *France* and *Italy*, was now of Age, of Parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful Lady of a very Loyal Spirit, and notable vivacity of Wit and Humour, who concurr'd with him in all honourable dedications of himself. He resolv'd to embrace all opportunities to serve the King, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence, to take the same resolution; and being allied to the Marquis of *Ormond*, he did by him inform his Majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many Months before the Marquis's Journey into *England*.

Mr STAPLEY was well known to Mr *Mordaunt*, who had represented his affections to the King, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in *Sussex*, and his undertaking that he would do so, by a Letter to the King under Mr *Stapley*'s own hand: and thereupon Mr *Mordaunt* desired, that his Majesty would send a Commission for the Command of a Regiment of Horse to him; which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the season he should be required to appear: which Commission, with many others, was sent to Mr *Mordaunt*; and he deliver'd it to Mr *Stapley*; who was exceedingly pleased with it, renew'd all his Vows and Protestations; and it is still believ'd that he really meant all he pretended. But he had trusted some Servant, who betray'd him; and being thereupon sent for by *Cromwell*, his Father's fast old Friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew already all that he ask'd him, he conceal'd nothing that he knew himself; inform'd him of those of the same Country who were to joyn with him; of whom some had likewise receiv'd Commissions, as well as himself; and in the end he confessed, "That he had receiv'd his Commission "from Mr *Mordaunt*'s own hand. Before this discovery Mr *Mordaunt* had been sent for by *Cromwell*, and very strictly examin'd, whether he had seen the Marquis of *Ormond* during his late being in *London*; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assured that it could not be proved, and that the Marquis himself was in safety: upon which confident denial, he was dismissed to return to his own Lodging. But upon this discovery by *Stapley*, he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close Prisoner to the Tower; and new Men were every day sent for, and committed in all Quarters of the Kingdom; and within some time after, a high Court of Justice was erected for the Trial of the Prisoners, the Crimes of none being yet discover'd; which put all those who knew how

Mr Stapley *discovers what he knew of the Plot.*

Mr Mordaunt *seised on, and committed to the Tower.*

how lyable they themselves were, under a terrible Consternation.

Mr Mordaunt; Sr H. Slingsby; and Dr Hewet, tryed before a high Court of Justice.

BEFORE this high Court of Justice, of which *John Lisle*, who gave his Vote in the King's blood, and continued an entire confident and Instrument of *Cromwells* was President; there were first brought to be tried, *John Mordaunt*; Sr *Harry Slingsby*, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and of a very ample Fortune in *York-shire*; and Dr *Hewet*, an eminent Preacher in *London*, and very Orthodox, to whose Church those of the King's Party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough against himself, they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough against them; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the Impeachment, but demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, and desire to have Council assign'd to argue against it in point of Law; they being both sufficiently instructed, how to urge Law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that Court, and that it was erected contrary to Law. The first that was brought to tryal, was Mr *Mordaunt*. After his Arraignment, by which he found that the delivery of the Commission to *Stapley* would be principally insisted on, and which he knew might too easily be proved, he, according to former resolution, refused to plead Not-guilty; but insisted, "That by the "Law of the Land he ought not to be tried by that Court; for which he gave more reasons than they could answer; and then desired, "That his Council might have liberty to argue "the point in Law; which of course used to be granted in all Legal Courts. But he was told, "That he was better to bethink "himself; that they were well satisfied in the Legality of their "Court, and would not suffer the Jurisdiction of it to be dis-"puted; that the Law of *England* had provided a Sentence for "such obstinate Persons as refused to be tried by it; which "was, that they should be condemn'd as Mutes; which would "be His Case, if he continued refractory: so he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what he would do the next day. Sr *Harry Slingsby* was call'd next. He knowing nothing of, or for the other resolution, pleaded Not-guilty; and so was sent to the Prison to be tried in his turn. Dr *Hewet*, whose greatest Crime was collecting and sending Money to the King, besides having given Money to some Officers, refused to plead, as Mr *Mordaunt* had done, and demanded that his Council might be heard; and receiv'd the same answer, and admonition, that the other had done; and was remitted again to Prison.

THOSE

THOSE Courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty Judges; amongst whom, there were usually some, who, out of pity, or for Money, were inclin'd to do good Offices to the Prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such Secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. Mr *Mordaunt*'s Lady had, by giving Money, procured some in the number to be very pro-pitious to her Husband: and in the Evening of that day the Tryal had been begun, she receiv'd two very important advices from them. The one, "That she should prevail with "her Husband to plead; then his Friends might do him some "Service: whereas, if he insisted upon the point of Law, he "would infallibly suffer, and no Man durst speak for him. The other, "That they had no sufficient proof to condemn him "upon any particular with which he stood charg'd, but only "for the delivery of the Commission to *Stapley*; and that there "was to that point, besides *Stapley*, one Colonel *Mallory*, "whose testimony was more valued than the other's. This *Mallory* had the reputation of an honest Man, and lov'd Mr *Mordaunt* very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of *Sussex*, and had been apprehended about the same time that *Stapley* was; and finding, upon his first Examination, by the Questions administer'd to him by *Thurlow*, that all was discover'd, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr *Mordaunt*; having been himself the Person principally employ'd between him and *Stapley*. He was brought in Custody from the Tower, to give in Evidence against Mr *Mordaunt*, with an intention in the Court, after he had done that good Service, to proceed as strictly against himself, though they promised him indemnity.

The means by which Mr Mordaunt escaped Sentence.

THE Lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that Night to advertise her Husband, that he should no more insist upon the want of Jurisdiction in the Court. For there was no possibility of speaking with, or sending to him, during the time of his Tryal. Therefore she laid aside the thought of that business till the Morning, and passed the Night in contriving how *Mallory* might be prevailed with to make an Escape; and was so dextrous, and so fortunate, that a Friend of Hers disposed the Money she gave him so effectually, that the next Morning, when *Mallory* was brought to the Hall to be ready to give in his Evidence, he found some means to withdraw from his Guard, and when he was in the Croud he easily got away.

SHE had as good fortune likewise to have a little Note she writ concerning the other Advice, put into her Husbands hand, as he passed to the Bar; which having perused, he de-

parted from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the President, in much choler, answering as he had done, he submitted to his Tryal; and behaved himself with Courage; and easily evaded the greatest part of the Evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the Marquis of *Ormond*; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the King, with notable Address. That of the Commission of *Stapley* was reserv'd to the last; and the Commission being produced, and both the hand and the Signet generally known, by reason of so many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at *Worcester*, and by many other Accidents, Mr *Stapley* was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr *Mordaunt*, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the Council that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr *Mordaunt*; yet he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appear'd he had much rather not have said it; and answer'd the Questions Mr *Mordaunt* asked him with that confusion, that his Evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial Judges. Then *Mallory* was call'd for; but by no search could be found; and they could not, by their own Rules, defer their Sentence. And it so fell out by one of the Judges withdrawing upon a suddain fit of the Stone, that the Court was divided, one half for the Condemning him, and the other half that he was not Guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single Vote of the President; who made some excuses for the Justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the Mother of the Prisoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him Innocent for ought appear'd to the Court. There was not in *Cromwell's* time the like Instance; and scarce any other Man escaped the Judgment, that was tried before any High Court of Justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept for some Months after in the Tower, and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two after, *Mallory* was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted a *French* man, who had long serv'd him, and was the only Servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allow'd but one) to attend him in the Prison: and he had discover'd enough to have taken away his Life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the Case so unheard of, that any Man, discharg'd upon a publick Tryal, should be again proceeded against upon new Evidence for the same Offence, that *Cromwell* himself thought not fit to undergo the Reproach

Reproach of it, but was in the end prevail'd with to ſet him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himſelf as frankly in the King's Service as before, and with better Succeſs.

SIR *Harry Slingsby*, and poor Dr *Hewet* had worſe fortune; and their Blood was the more thirſted after for the other's Indemnity; and the Court was too ſeverely reprehended, to commit the ſame fault again. The former had lain two years in Priſon in *Hull*, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not diſcover enough of any new Plot, to make ſo many formidable Examples, as the preſent conjuncture required. They had againſt him Evidence enough (beſides his incorrigible Fidelity to the Crown from the firſt aſſaulting it) that he had contriv'd and contracted with ſome Officers of *Hull*, about the time that the Earl of *Rocheſter* had been in *York-ſhire* two years before, for the delivery of one of the Block-Houſes to him for the King's Service: nor did he care to defend himſelf againſt the Accuſation; but rather acknowledged, and juſtified his Affection, and own'd his Loyalty to the King, with very little compliment, or ceremony to the Preſent Power. The other, Dr *Hewet*, receiving no information of Mr *Mordaunt's* declining the way formerly reſolv'd upon (which it was not poſſible to convey to him in that inſtant, no body being ſuffer'd to ſpeak with him) and being brought to the Bar aſſoon as the other was remov'd from it, perſiſted in the ſame reſolution, and ſpoke only againſt the illegality of the Court; which, upon better Information, and before the Judgment was pronounced againſt him, he deſired to retract, and would have put himſelf upon his Tryal: but they then refuſed to admit him; and ſo Sentence of death was pronounced againſt them both; which they both underwent with great Chriſtian Courage.

Sir Harry Slingsby *condemn'd,*

and Doctor Hewet *refuſing ſtill to plead.*

They are both executed.

SIR *Harry Slingsby*, as is ſaid before, was in the firſt Rank of the Gentlemen of *York-ſhire*; and was return'd to ſerve as a Member in the Parliament that continued ſo many years; where he ſate till the Troubles begun; and having no relation to, or dependence upon the Court, he was ſway'd only by his Conſcience to deteſt the violent and undutiful behaviour of that Parliament. He was a Gentleman of a good underſtanding, but of a very melancholick Nature, and of very few words: and when he could ſtay no longer with a good Conſcience in their Councils, in which he never concurr'd, he went into his Country, and joyn'd with the firſt who took up Arms for the King. And when the War was ended, he remain'd ſtill in his own Houſe, prepar'd and diſpoſed to run the Fortune of the Crown in any other Attempt. And having a good Fortune and a general Reputation, had a greater

An account of Sr Harry Slingsby.

Influence upon the People, than They who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcilable to the new Government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great Intercession to preserve him. For he was Uncle to the Lord *Falconbridge*; who engaged his Wife and all his new Allies to intercede for him without Effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse; but told them, "He was to die for being an honest Man, of which he "was very glad.

And of Dr Hewet.

Dr HEWET was born a Gentleman, and bred a Scholar, and was a Divine before the beginning of the Troubles. He liv'd in *Oxford*, and in the Army, till the end of the War, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little Church in *London*: where by the affection of the *Parish*, he was admitted, since he was enough known to be notoriously under the brand of Malignity. When the Lord *Falconbridge* married *Cromwell*'s Daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his Church) after the ceremony of the time, He was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the Church; which engaged both that Lord and Lady, to use their utmost credit with the Protector to preserve his Life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the Churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his Mercy.

IT was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he might have been quitted, since in truth he never had been with the King at *Cologne* or *Bruges*; with which he was charged in his Indictment; and they had blood enough in their power to pour out; for, besides the two before-mention'd, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, Colonel *Ashton*, *Stacy*, and *Bettely*, condemn'd by the same Court; who were treated with more severity; and were hanged, drawn, and quarter'd, with the most rigour, in several great Streets in the City, to make the deeper impression upon the People, the two last being Citizens. But all Men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable Spectacles, that *Cromwell* thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemn'd, or rather to reprieve them; amongst whom *Mallory* was one; who was not at liberty till the King's Return; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than They were against whom he had trespassed.

Colonel Ashton, and Stacy and Bettely, Citizens, condemn'd and executed.

THOUGH the King, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet *Cromwell* did not seem to be the more confirm'd in his Tyranny. It is true, the King's Party was the more dispirited; but

but *Cromwell* found another kind of Enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raiſed by him, and who had raiſed him, even almoſt the whole Body of Sectaries, Anabaptiſts, Independents, Quakers, declar'd an implacable hatred againſt him; and whilſt they contrived how to raiſe a power to contend with him, they likewiſe enter'd into ſeveral Conſpiracies to Aſſaſſinate him; which he exceedingly apprehended. They ſent an Addreſs to the King by one of the Party, a young Gentleman of an honourable Extraction, and great Parts, by whom they made many evtravagant Propoſitions, and ſeem'd to depend very much upon the death of *Cromwell*, and thereupon to compute their own power to ſerve the King; who gave ſuch an Anſwer only to them, as might diſpoſe them to hope for his favour, if he received ſervice from them; and to believe that he did not intend to perſecute, or trouble any Men for their Opinions, if their Actions were peaceable; which they ptetended to affect.

Cromwell found new Enemies among the Sectaries.

An Addreſs ſent by the Anabaptiſts to the King.

SINCE the Spirit, Humour, and Language of that People, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better deſcribed and repreſented, than by that Petition and Addreſs, which was never publiſhed, and of which there remains no Copy in any hand, that I know of, but only the Original, which was preſented to the King (it being too dangerous a thing for any Man who remained in *England*, to have any ſuch tranſcript in his Coſtody) it will not be amiſs in this place to inſert the Petition and Addreſs in the very words in which it was preſented to his Majeſty, with the Letter, that accompanied it from the Gentleman mention'd before, who was an Anabaptiſt of ſpecial Truſt among them, and who came not with the Petition, but expected the King's pleaſure upon the receipt of it; it being ſent by an Officer who had ſerv'd the King in an eminent Command, and was now gracious amongſt thoſe Sectaries without ſwerving in the leaſt degree from his former Principles and Integrity: for that People always pretended a juſt eſteem and value of all Men who had faithfully adhered to the King, and liv'd ſoberly and virtuouſly. The Addreſs was in theſe words.

The Addreſs it ſelf.

To his moſt Excellent Majeſty, Charles *the Second*, *King of great* Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

"The humble Addreſs of the Subſcribers, in the behalf of "themſelves, and many thouſands more, your Majeſty's "moſt humble and faithful Subjects.

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"WHEN We ſit down, and recount the wonderful and un-

"heard of Dispensations of God amongst Us, when We call "to our remembrances the Tragical Actions, and Transacti- "ons of these late times, when We seriously consider the dark "and mysterious effects of Providence, the unexpected dis- "appointment of Councels, the strange and strong Convul- "sions of State, the various and violent Motions and Commo- "tions of the People, the many Changings, Turnings, and "Overturnings of Governours, and Governments, which, in "the Revolutions of a few years, have been produced in this "Land of Miracles, We cannot but be even swallowed up in "Astonishment, and are constrain'd to command an unwil- "ling Silence upon our sometimes mutinous, and over-inqui- "ring Hearts, resolving all into the good Will and Pleasure of "that All-disposing One, whose Wisdom is unsearchable, and "whose Ways are past finding out.

BUT although it is, and We hope ever will be, far from "Us, either peevishly or presumptuously to kick against the "irresistable Decrees of Heaven, or vainly to attempt, by any "faint and infirm designs of Ours, to give an interruption to "that Over-ruling Divine hand, which steers, and guides, go- "verns, and determines the Affairs of the whole World; yet "We cannot but judge it a Duty highly incumbent upon Us, "to endeavour, as much as in Us lies, to repair the breaches "of Our dear Country. And, since it is Our lot (We may "say our unhappiness) to be embark'd in a Shipwrack'd Com- "mon-wealth (which, like a poor weather-beaten Pinnace, "has, for so long a time, been tossed upon the waves and bil- "lows of Faction, split upon the Rocks of Violence, and is "now almost quite devour'd in the Quick-sands of Ambi- "tion) what can We do more worthy of *English*-Men, as We "are by Nation, or of *Christians*, as We are by Profession, than "every one of Us to put our hand to an Oar, and to try if it be "the Will of our God, that such weak instruments as We, "may be, in any measure, helpful to bring it at last into the "safe and quiet Harbour of Justice, and Righteousness?

"To this Undertaking, though too great for Us, We are "apt to think Our selves so much the more strongly engaged, "by how much the more we are sensible, that as our Sins have "been the greatest Causes, so our many follies and impru- "dences have not been the least means of giving both birth and "growth to those many Miseries and Calamities, which We, "together with Three once most Flourishing Kingdoms, do at "this day sadly groan under.

"IT is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing unto Us, "nor can We believe it will be grateful to your Majesty, that "We should recur to the beginnings, rise, and root of the late "unhappy differences betwixt your Royal Father and the

"Par-

"Parliament. In such a discourse as this, We may seem, per-
"haps, rather to go about to make the Wounds bleed afresh,
"than to endeavour the curing of them: yet forasmuch as
"We do profess, that We come not with Corrosives but with
"Balsoms, and that our desire is not to hurt but heal, not to
"pour Vinegar but Oyl into the Wounds; We hope your Ma-
"jesty will give Us leave to open them gently, that We may
"apply remedies the more aptly, and discover our own past
"errors the more clearly.

"In what posture the Affairs of these Nations stood, be-
"fore the noise of Drums and Trumpets disturbed the sweet
"harmony that was amongst Us, is not unknown to your Ma-
"jesty: that We were blest with a long Peace, and together with
"it, with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things,
"the lovely companions and beautiful products of Peace,
"must ever be acknowledged with thankfulness to God, the
"Author of it, and with a grateful veneration of the Memory
"of those Princes, your Father, and Grandfather, by the pro-
"pitious Influence of whose care, and Wisdom, We thus flou-
"rish'd. But, as it is observ'd in Natural Bodies, idleness and
"fulness of Diet, do for the most part lay the foundation of
"those Maladies, and secretly nourish those diseases, which
"can hardly be expell'd by the assistance of the most skilful
"Physician, and seldom without the use of the most loathsome
"Medicines, nay sometimes not without the hazardous tryal
"of the most dangerous Experiments; so did We find it, by
"sad experience, to be in this great Body Politick. It cannot be
"denied, but the whole Common-wealth was faint, the whole
"Nation sick, the whole Body out of order, every Member
"thereof feeble, and every Part thereof languishing. And in
"this so general, and universal distemper, that there should
"be no weakness nor infirmity, no unsoundness in the Head,
"cannot well be imagin'd. We are unwilling to enumerate
"particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs,
"but, in general, We may say, and We think it will gain the
"easy assent of all Men, that there were many errours, many
"defects, many excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and
"excentrical Proceedings (some of which were in matters of
"the highest and greatest Concernments) manifestly appearing
"as blots, and stains, upon the otherwise good Government
"of the late King. That these proceeded from the pravity of
"his own disposition, or from Principles of Tyranny radicated
"and implanted in his own Nature. We do not see how it
"can be asserted without apparent injury to the truth; it be-
"ing confessed, even by his most peevish Enemies, that He
"was a Gentleman, as of the most strong and perfect Intel-
"lectuals, so of the best and purest Morals, of any Prince that

"ever sway'd the *English* Scepter. This the then Parliament "being sensible of, and desirous, out of a Zeal they had to the "Honour of their Soveraign, to disperse and dispel those black "Clouds that were contracted about him, that he might "shine the more glorious in the beauty of his own Lustre, "thought themselves engag'd in Duty to endeavour to redeem, "and rescue him, from violent and strong impulses of his "evil Counsellors; who did Captivate him at their pleasures "to their own corrupt Lusts, and did every day thrust him "into Actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to the "common Good and Safety of the People.

"UPON this Account, and to this, and no other end, were "We at first invited to take up Arms; and though We have "too great cause to conclude from what We have since seen "acted, that, under those plausible, and gilded pretences of "Liberty and Reformation, there were secretly managed the "hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious Persons (whom "though then, and for a long time after, concealed, Provi-"dence, and the Series of things, have since discover'd to "Us) yet We bless God, that We went out in the Simplicity "of our Souls, aiming at nothing more but what was pub-"lickly own'd in the face of the Sun; and that We were so "far from entertaining any thoughts of casting off our Alle-"giance to his Majesty, or extirpating his Family, that We "had not the least intentions of so much as abridging him of "any of his just Prerogatives, but only of restraining those "excesses of Government for the future, which were nothing "but the Excrescense of a wanton Power, and were more "truly to be accounted the burdens, than ornaments, of his "Royal Diadem.

"THESE things, Sir, We are bold to make ricital of to "your Majesty; nor that we suppose your Majesty to be igno-"rant of them, or that We take delight to derive the Pedi-"gree of our own, and the Nations Misfortunes; but, like "poor wilder'd Travellers, perceiving that We have lost our "way, We are necessitated, though with tired and irksome "steps, thus to walk the same ground over again, that We may "discover where it was that We first turn'd aside, and may in-"stitute a more prosperous course in the progress of our Jour-"ney. Thus far We can say We have gone right, keeping the "rode of Honesty and Sincerity, and having as yet done no-"thing but what We think We are able to justify, not by those "weak and beggarly Arguments, drawn either from success, "which is the same to the just and to the unjust, or from the "silence and satisfaction of a becalm'd Conscience, which is "more often the effect of blindness than Virtue, but from the "sure, safe, sound, and unerring Maxims of Law, Justice, Rea-"son, and Righteousness.

"IN

"In all the reſt of our Motions ever ſince to this very day, "We muſt confeſs, We have been wandring, deviating, and "roving up and down, this way and that way, through all "the dangerous, uncouth, and untroden Paths of Phana- "tick and Enthuſiaſtick Notions, till now at laſt, but too "late, We find our ſelves intricated and involv'd in ſo many "Windings, Labyrinths, and Mæanders of Knavery, that no- "thing but a divine clew of thread handed to Us from Hea- "ven, can be ſufficient to extricate Us, and reſtore Us. We "know not, We know not, whether We have juſter matter "of ſhame or ſorrow adminiſter'd to Us, when We take a re- "flex view of our paſt Actions, and conſider into the com- "miſſion of what crimes, impieties, wickedneſſes, and unheard "of Villanies, We have been led, cheated, couſen'd, and be- "tray'd, by that Grand Impoſtor, that loathſome Hypocrite, "that deteſtable Traytor, that Prodigy of Nature, that *oppro- "brium* of Mankind, that Landskip of Iniquity, that Sink of "Sin, and that Compendium of baſeneſs, who now calls him- "ſelf our Protector. What have We done, nay, what have "We not done, which either helliſh Policy was able to con- "trive, or bruiſh power to execute? We have trampled un- "der foot all Authorities; We have laid violent hands upon "our own Soveraign; We have raviſh'd our Parliaments; "We have deflour'd the Virgin Liberty of our Nation; We "have put a yoke, an heavy Yoke of Iron, upon the Necks "of our own Country-men; We have thrown down the "Walls and Bullwarks of the People's ſafety; We have bro- "ken often-repeated Oaths, Vows, Engagements, Covenants, "Proteſtations; We have betray'd our Truſts; We have vio- "lated our Faiths; We have lifted up our hands to Heaven "deceitfully; and that theſe our Sins might want no aggra- "vation to make them exceeding ſinful, We have added Hy- "pocriſy to them all; and have not only, like the audacious "Strumpet, wiped our Mouths, and boaſted *that We have "done no evil*; but in the midſt of all our abominations (ſuch "as are too bad to be named amongſt the worſt of Heathens) "We have not wanted impudence enough to ſay, Let the Lord "be glorified: Let Jeſus Chriſt be exalted: Let his Kingdom "be advanced: Let the Goſpel be propagated: Let the Saints "be dignified: Let Righteouſneſs be eſtabliſh'd: *Pudet hæc "opprobria Nobis aut dici potuiſſe, aut non potuiſſe refelli.*

"Will not the Holy One of *Iſrael* viſit? will not the "Righteous One puniſh? will not He who is the true and "faithful One, be avenged for ſuch things as theſe? will He "not, nay has he not already, come forth as a ſwift witneſs "againſt Us? has he not whet his Sword? has he not bent "his Bow? has he not prepared his Quiver? has he not al-

ready

"ready begun to shoot his Arrows at Us? who is so blind as "not to see that the hand of the Almighty is upon Us, and "that his Anger waxes hotter and hotter against Us? how "have our Hopes been blasted? how have our Expectations "been disappointed? how have our Ends been frustrated? All "those pleasant Gourds, under which We were sometimes "solacing and caressing our selves, how are they perish'd in a "moment? how are they wither'd in a Night? how are they "vanish'd, and come to nothing? Righteous is the Lord, and "righteous are all his Judgments. We have sown the Wind, "and We have reap'd a Whirlwind, We have sown Faction, "and We have reap'd Confusion; We have sown Folly, and "We have reap'd Deceit: when he look'd for Liberty, behold "Slavery; when We expected Righteousness, behold Oppres-"sion; when We sought for Justice, behold a Cry, a great, and "a lamentable Cry throughout the whole Nation.

"EVERY Man's hand is upon his Loins, every one com-"plaing, sighing, mourning, lamenting, and saying, I am "pain'd, I am pain'd, pain and anguish, and sorrow, and per-"plexity of Spirit has taken hold upon me, like the pains of "a Woman in Travail. Surely We may take up the lamenta-"tion of the Prophet concerning this the Land of our Nati-"vity. How does *England* sit Solitary? how is she become "as a Widow? she, that was great amongst the Nations, and "Princess among the Provinces, how is she now become tri-"butary? she weepeth sore in the Night; her Tears are on "her Cheeks; amongst all her Lovers she hath none to com-"fort her; all her Friends have dealt treacherously with her, "they are become her Enemies; she lifteth up her voice in "the Streets, she cryeth aloud in the Gates of the City, in the "places of chief Concourse, she sitteth, and thus We hear her "wailing and bemoaning her Condition; Is it nothing to you, "all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow "like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith "the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce Anger. "The Yoke of my Transgressions is bound by his hands, they "are wreath'd, and come up upon my Neck; he hath made "my strength to fall, the Lord hath deliver'd me into their "hands from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord hath "troden under foot all my Mighty Men in the midst of me; "he hath call'd an Assembly to crush my young Men; he hath "troden me as in a Wine-press; all that pass by clap their "hands at me, they hiss and wag their Heads at me, saying, Is "this the Nation that Men call the perfection of Beauty? the "joy of the whole Earth? all mine Enemies have open'd their "Mouths against me, they hiss and gnash their teeth; they "say, We have swallow'd her up; certainly this is the

"day

"day that We looked for, We have found, We have seen "it.

"How are our Bowels troubled? how are our Hearts "sadned? how are our Souls afflicted, whilst We hear the "groans, whilst We see the desolation of our dear Country? "it pitieth Us, it pitieth Us, that Sion should lye any longer "in the dust. But, alas! what shall We do for her in this "day of her great Calamity? We were sometimes wise to pull "down, but We now want art to build; We were inge- "nious to pluck up, but We have no skill to plant; We were "strong to destroy, but We are weak to restore: whither "shall We go for help? or to whom shall We address our "selves for Relief? if We say, We will have recourse to Par- "liaments, and They shall save Us; behold, they are broken "Reeds, Reeds shaken with the wind, They cannot save "Themselves. If We turn to the Army, and say, They are "Bone of our Bone and Flesh of our Flesh, it may be They will "at last, have pity upon Us, and deliver Us; behold, They "are become as a Rod of Iron to bruise Us, rather than a staff "of Strength to support Us. If We go to him who hath trea- "cherously Usurped, and does Tyrannically exercise an unjust "Power over Us, and say to him, free Us from this Yoke, "for it oppresseth Us, and from these Burdens, for they are "heavier than either We are, or our Fathers ever were able "to bear; behold, in the Pride and Haughtiness of his Spirit, "he answers Us, You are Factious, you are Factious; if your "Burdens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier; If I have "hitherto chastised you with Whips, I will henceforward cha- "stise you with Scorpions.

"Thus do We fly, like Patridges hunted, from Hill to "Hill, and from Mountain to Mountain, but can find no rest; "We look this way, and that way, but there is none to save, "none to deliver. At last We begun to whisper, and but to "whisper only, among our selves, saying one to another, why "should We not return to our first husband? surely it will be "better with Us then, than it is now. At the first starting of "this Question amongst Us, many doubts, many fears, many "jealousies, many suspicions did arise within Us. We were "Conscious to our selves, that We had dealt unkindly with "him, that We had treacherously forsaken him, that We had "defiled our selves with other Lovers, and that our filthiness "was still upon our skirts: Therefore were We apt to con- "clude, if We do not return unto him, how can he receive Us? "or if he does receive Us, how can he love Us? how can he "pardon the injuries We have done unto him? how can he "forget the unkindness We have shewn unto him in the day "of his distress?

"We

"We must confess (for We come not to deceive your "Majesty, but to speak the truth in simplicity) that these cow- "ardly Apprehensions did, for a while, make some strong im- "pressions upon Us; and had almost frighted Us out of our "newly conceiv'd thoughts of Duty and Loyalty. But it was "not long before they vanish'd, and gave place to the more "Noble and Heroick considerations of Common Good, Pub- "lick Safety, the Honour, Peace, Welfare, and Prosperity, of "these Nations; all which We are perswaded, and do find, "though by too late Experence, are as inseparably, and as "naturally bound up in your Majesty, as heat in fire, or light "in the Sun. Contemning therefore, and disdaining, the "mean and low thoughts of our own private Safety (which "We have no cause to despair of, having to deal with so "good and so gracious a Prince) We durst not allow of any "longer debate about matters of Personal concernment; but "did think our selves engaged in Duty, Honour, and Con- "science, to make this our humble Address unto your Ma- "jesty, and to leave our selves at the feet of your Mercy: "yet, lest We should seem to be altogether negligent of that "first Good, though since dishonour'd, Cause, which God has "so eminently own'd Us in, and to be unmindful of the Secu- "rity of those, who, together with our selves, being carried "away with the delusive, and hypocritical pretences of wicked "and ungodly Men, have ignorantly, not maliciously, been "drawn into a concurrence with those Actions which may "render them justly obnoxious to your Majesty's indignation, "We have presum'd in all humility to offer unto your Ma- "jesty these few Propositions hereunto annexed; to which if "your Majesty shall be pleased graciously to condescend, We "do solemnly protest in the presence of Almighty God, be- "fore whose Tribunal We know We must one day appear, "that We will hazard our lives, and all that is dear unto Us, for "the restoring, and reestablishing your Majesty in the Throne "of your Father; and that We will never be wanting in a "ready and willing compliance to your Majesty's Commands "to approve our selves,

"Your Majesty's

"Most humble, most faithful,

"and most devoted Subjects and Servants,

W. Howard	*John Wildman.*
Ralph Jennings.	*John Aumigeu.*
Edw. Penkaruan.	*Randolph Hedworth.*
John Hedworth.	*Thomas*
John Sturgion.	*Rich. Reynolds.*

"The

"THE earneſt deſires of the Subſcribers, in all humility preſented to your Majeſty in theſe following Propoſals, in order to an happy, ſpeedy, and well grounded Peace in theſe your Majeſty's Dominions. *Their Propoſitions annexed to it.*

1. "FORASMUCH as the Parliament, call'd and conven'd "by the Authority of his late Majeſty your Royal Father, in "the year 1640, was, never legally Diſſolv'd, but did conti- "nue their ſitting until the year 1648. at which time the "Army, violently and treaſonably breaking in upon them, "did, and has ever ſince given a continued Interruption to "their Seſſion, by taking away the whole Houſe of Lords, and "ſecluding the greateſt part of the Houſe of Commons, it is "therefore humbly deſired that (to the end We may be eſta- "bliſh'd upon the ancient baſis and foundation of Law) your "Majeſty would be pleaſed, by publick Proclamations, aſſoon "as it ſhall be judged ſeaſonable, to invite all thoſe Perſons, as "well Lords as Commons, who were then Sitting, to return "to their places; and that your Majeſty would own them "(ſo conven'd and met together) to be the true and lawful "Parliament of *England*.

2. "THAT your Majeſty would concur with the Parlia- "ment in the Ratification and Confirmation of all thoſe things "granted, and agreed unto by the late King your Father, at "the laſt and fatal Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*; as alſo in the "making and repealing of all ſuch Laws, Acts, and Statutes, "as by the Parliament ſhall be judged expedient and neceſſary "to be made, and repealed, for the better ſecuring of the juſt "and natural Rights and Liberties of the People, and for the "obviating and preventing all dangerous and deſtructive ex- "ceſſes of Government for the future.

3. FORASMUCH as it cannot be denied, but that our "Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by his Death and Reſurre- "ction, has purchaſed the Liberties of his own People, and is "thereby become their ſole Lord and King, to whom, and to "whom only, they owe Obedience in things Spiritual; We do "therefore humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you would en- "gage your Royal Word never to erect, nor ſuffer to be "erected, any ſuch Tyrannical, Popiſh, and Antichriſtian "Hieracy (Epiſcopal, Presbyterian, or by what name ſoever "it be call'd) as ſhall aſſume a power over, or impoſe a yoke "upon, the Conſciences of others; but that every one of your "Majeſty's Subjects may hereafter be left at liberty to worſhip "God in ſuch a way, form, and manner, as ſhall appear to "them to be agreeable to the mind and will of Chriſt, re- "vealed in his word, according to that proportion, or mea- "ſure of faith and knowledge which they have receiv'd.

4. "FORAS-

4. "FORASMUCH as the Exaction of Tithes is a burden "under which the whole Nation groans in general, and the "People of God in particular, We would therefore crave "leave humbly to offer it to your Majesty's consideration, "that, if it be possible, some other way may be found out for "the maintenance of that which is call'd the National Mi-"nistry; and that those of the separated and congregated "Churches may not (as hitherto they have been, and still are) "be compell'd to contribute thereunto.

5. "FORASMUCH as in these times of Licence, Confu-"sion, and Disorder, many honest, godly, and religious Per-"sons, by the crafty devices and cunning pretences of wicked "Men, have been ignorantly, and blindly led, either into "the commission of, or compliance with many vile, illegal, and "abominable Actions, whereof they are now ashamed, We "do therefore most humbly implore your Majesty, that an "Act of Amnesty and Oblivion may be granted for the par-"doning, acquitting, and discharging, all your Majesty's long "deceiv'd, and deluded Subjects, from the guilt and imputa-"tion of all Crimes, Treasons, and Offences whatsoever, com-"mitted or done by them, or any of them, either against "your Majesty's Father, or your self, since the beginning of "these unhappy Wars, excepting only such who do adhere to "that ugly Tyrant, who calls himself Protector, or who, in ju-"stification of His, or any other Interest, shall after the pub-"lication of this Act of Grace, continue and persevere in their "disloyalty to your Majesty.

THE Gentleman who brought this Address, and these wild Propositions, brought likewise with him a particular Letter to the King from the Gentleman that is before descri-bed; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the Mes-senger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an Ana-baptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and mad-ness of his Companions; and told this Gentleman, "That "though the first Address could not be prepared but with "those Demands, which might satisfy the whole Party, and "comprehend all that was desired by any of them, yet if the "King gave them such an encouragement, as might dispose "them to send some of the wisest of them to attend his Ma-"jesty, he would be able, upon conference with them, to "make them his Instruments to reduce the rest to more mo-"derate desires, when they should discern, that they might "have more protection and security from the King, than "from any other Power that would assume the Government. The Letter was as followeth.

"May

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"TIME, the great diſcoverer of all things, has at laſt un- *The Letter*
"maſk'd the diſguiſed deſigns of this Myſterious Age, and *to the King*
"made that obvious to the dull ſenſe of Fools, which was be- *ſent with the*
"fore viſible enough to the quick-ſighted prudence of Wiſe *Addreſs.*
"Men, *viz.* that Liberty, Religion, and Reformation, the
"wonted Engines of Politicians, are but deceitful baits, by
"which the eaſily deluded Multitude are tempted to a greedy
"purſuit of their own ruin. In the unhappy number of theſe
"Fools, I muſt confeſs my ſelf to have been one; who have
"nothing more now to boaſt of, but only that, as I was not
"the firſt was cheated, ſo I was not the laſt was undeceiv'd;
"having long ſince, by peeping a little (now and then, as I
"had opportunity) under the Vizard of the Impoſtor, got
"ſuch glimpſes, though but imperfect ones, of his ugly face
"conceal'd under the painted pretences of Sanctity, as made
"me conclude, that the Series of Affairs, and the revolution
"of a few years, would convince this blinded Generation of
"their Errors; and make them affrightedly to ſtart from Him,
"as a prodigious piece of Deformity, whom they adored and
"reverenced as the beautiful Image of a Deity.

"NOR did this my expectation fail me: God, who glo-
"ries in no Attribute more than to be acknowledged the
"Searcher of the inward parts, could no longer endure the
"bold Affronts of this audacious Hypocrite; but, to the
"aſtoniſhment and confuſion of all his Idolatrous worſhippers,
"has by the unſearchable wiſdom of his deep-laid Counſels,
"lighted ſuch a Candle into the dark Dungeon of his Soul,
"that there is none ſo blind who does not plainly read Trea-
"chery, Tyranny, Perfidiouſneſs, Diſſimulation, Atheiſm, Hy-
"pocriſy, and all manner of Villany, written in large Chara-
"cters on his heart; nor is there any one remaining, who
"dares open his mouth in juſtification of him, for fear of in-
"curring the deſerv'd Character of being a profeſſed Advocate
"for all Wickedneſs, and a ſworn Enemy to all Virtue.

"THIS was no ſooner brought forth, but preſently I con-
"ceiv'd hopes of being able, in a ſhort time, to put in pra-
"ctice thoſe thoughts of Loyalty to your Majeſty, which had
"long had entertainment in my breaſt, but till now were
"forced to ſeek concealment under a ſeeming conformity to
"the iniquity of the Times. A fit opportunity of giving birth
"to theſe deſigns, was happily adminiſter'd by the following
"occaſion.

"GREAT was the rage, and juſt the indignation of the
"People, when they firſt found the Authority of their Par-
"liament ſwallow'd up in the new Name of a Protector;

"greater

" greater was their fury, and upon better grounds, when they " obſerv'd that, under the ſilent, modeſt, and flattering Title " of this Protector, was ſecretly aſſumed a Power more ab- " ſolute, more arbitrary, more unlimited, than ever was pre- " tended to by any King. The Pulpits ſtraightways ſound " with Declarations, the Streets are fill'd with Paſquils and " Libels, every one expreſſes a deteſtation of this Innovation " by publick Invectives, and all the Nation, with one accord, " ſeems at once to be inſpired with one and the ſame reſolu- " tion of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that Liberty, by " Arms and Force, which was Treacherouſly ſtoln from them " by Deceit and Fraud.

" WHEN they had for a while exerciſed themſelves in tu- " multuary diſcourſes (the firſt effects of Popular diſcontents) " at length they begin to contrive by what means to free " themſelves from the yoke that is upon them. In order " hereunto, ſeveral of the chiefeſt of the Malecontents enter " into conſultations amongſt themſelves; to which they were " pleaſed to invite and admit Me. Being taken into their " Councils, and made privy to their Debates, I thought it " my work to acquaint my ſelf fully with the tempers, in- " clinations, diſpoſitions, and principles of them; which " (though all meeting and concentring in an irreconcilable " Hatred and Animoſity againſt the Uſurper) I find ſo va- " rious in their ends, and ſo contrary in the means conduc- " cing to thoſe ends, that they do naturally fall under the di- " ſtinction of different Parties. Some, drunk with Enthu- " ſiaſms, and beſotted with Phanatick notions, do allow of " none to have a ſhare in Government beſides the Saints; and " theſe are called *Chriſtian Loyaliſts*, or *Fifth Monarchy-Men*; " others violently oppoſing This, as deſtructive to the Liber- " ty of the Free-born People, ſtrongly contend to have the " Nation govern'd by a continual Succeſſion of Parliaments, " conſiſting of equal Repreſentatives; and theſe ſtyle them- " ſelves *Common-Wealths-Men*. A third Party there is, who " finding, by the obſervation of theſe times, that Parliaments " are better Phyſick than Food, ſeem to incline moſt to Mo- " narchy, if laid under ſuch reſtrictions as might free the Peo- " ple from the fear of Tyranny; and theſe are contented to " ſuffer under the opprobrious Name of *Levellers*; to theſe " did I particularly apply my ſelf; and after ſome few days " conference with them in private by themſelves apart, I was " ſo happy in my endeavours, as to prevail with ſome of them " to lay aſide thoſe vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather " upon paſſion than judgment, and return, as their duty en- " gaged them, to their obedience to your Majeſty. Having " proceeded thus far, and gain'd as many of the chief of them

" whom

"whom I knew to be Leaders of the reſt, as could ſafely be "intruſted with a buſineſs of this nature (the ſucceſs where- "of does principally depend upon the ſecret management of "it) I thought I had nothing more now to do, but only to "confirm and eſtabliſh them, as well as I could, in their in- "fant Allegiance, by engaging them ſo far in an humble Ad- "dreſs unto your Majeſty, that they might not know how to "make either a ſafe or honourable Retreat.

"I muſt leave it to the Ingenuity of this worthy Gentle- "man, by whoſe hands it is conveyed, to make anſwer to "any ſuch objections as may perhaps be made by your Ma- "jeſty, either as to the matter or manner of it. This only I "would put your Majeſty in mind of, that they are but young "Proſelytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*, leſt, being urged "at firſt too violently, they ſhould reſiſt the more refracto- "rily.

"As to the Quality of the Perſons, I cannot ſay they are "either of great Families, or great Eſtates. But this I am con- "fident of, that, whether it be by their own virtue, or by the "misfortunes of the times, I will not determine, they are ſuch "who may be more ſerviceable to your Majeſty in this con- "juncture, than thoſe whoſe Names ſwell much bigger "than Theirs with the Addition of great Titles. I durſt not "undertake to perſwade your Majeſty to any thing, being "ignorant by what Maxims your Counſels are govern'd; but "this I ſhall crave leave to ſay, that I have often obſerv'd, "that a deſperate game at Cheſs, has been recover'd after the "loſs of the Nobility, only by playing the Pawns well; and "that the Subſcribers may not be of the ſame uſe to your Ma- "jeſty, if well managed, I cannot deſpair, eſpecially at ſuch "a time as this, when there is ſcarce any thing but Pawns "left upon the board, and thoſe few others that are left, may "juſtly be complain'd of in the words of *Tacitus*, *præſentia & "tuta, quàm vetera, & periculoſa malunt omnes.*

"I have many things more to offer unto your Majeſty, but "fearing I have already given too bold a trouble, I ſhall de- "fer the mention of them at preſent; intending, aſſoon as I "hear how your Majeſty reſents this Overture, to wait upon "your Majeſty in Perſon, and then to communicate that *viva "voce*, which I cannot bring within the narrow compaſs of "an Addreſs of this nature. In the mean time, if our Ser- "vices ſhall be judged uſeful to your Majeſty, I ſhall humbly "deſire ſome ſpeedy courſe may be taken for the Advance of "2000 Pound, as well for the anſwering the expectation of "thoſe whom I have already engaged, as for the defraying of "ſeveral other neceſſary expences, which do, and will every "day inevitably come upon us in the proſecution of our deſign.

"WHAT more is expedient to be done by your Majesty, "in order to the encouragement and satisfaction of those Gen- "tlemen who already are, or hereafter may be brought over "to the assistance of your Majesty's Cause and Interest, I shall "commit to the care of this honourable Person, who being "no stranger to the complection, and constitution of those "with whom I have to deal, is able sufficiently to inform your "Majesty by what ways and means they may be laid under "the strongest obligations to your Majesty's Service.

"FOR my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more, "than only to give your Majesty a small Essay of my Zeal for, "and absolute devotion to your Majesty, so I have nothing "more to beg of your Majesty, but that you would be pleased "to account me,

"May it please your Majesty, *&c.*

THE King believ'd that these distempers might, in some conjuncture, be of use to him; and therefore return'd the general Answer that is mention'd before; and "That he would "be willing to confer with some Persons of that Party, trusted "by the rest, if they would come over to him; his Majesty being then at *Bruges*: upon which that young Gentleman came over thither to him, and remain'd some days there conceal'd. He was a Person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of Wit, readiness and volubility of Tongue, but an Anabaptist. He had been bred in the University of *Cambridge*, and afterwards in the Inns of Court; but being too young to have known the Religion, or the Government of the precedent time, and his Father having been engaged from the beginning against the King, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a Soldier in *Cromwell*'s Life Guard of Horse, when he was thought to be most resolv'd to establish a Republick. But when that Mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of the combination with those who resolv'd to destroy him by what way soever; and was very intimate with *Syndercome*. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that Party; and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the King could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the Wiser Men had amongst them. He return'd into *England* very well satisfied with the King; and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions; but left the King without any hope of other benefit from that Party, than by their encreasing the faction and animosity against *Cromwell*: for it was manifest they expected a good Sum of present Money from the King; which could not be in his power to supply.

WHILST

WHILST these things were transacting, the King found every day, that the *Spaniards* so much despaired of his Cause, that they had no mind to give him any Assistance with which he might make an attempt upon *England*; and that if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it: and therefore he resolv'd that he would not, in a Country that was so great a Scene of War, live unactive and unconcern'd: so his Majesty sent to *Don Juan* "That he would "accompany him in the Field the next Campagne, without "expecting any Ceremony, or putting him to any trouble. But the *Spaniards* sent him a formal Message, and employed the Earl of *Bristol* to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his Proposition, and to dissuade his Majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his Person. They said, "That "they could not answer it to his Catholick Majesty, if they "should permit his Majesty, when his two Brothers were al-"ready in the Army, and known to affect danger so much as "they did, likewise to engage his own Royal Person; which "they positively protested against. And when they afterwards saw, that it was not in their power to restrain him from such adventures, whilst he remain'd at *Bruges*, which was now become a Frontier by the Neighbourhood of *Mardike*, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the Duke of *York*, who lay then at *Dunkirk* to make some attempt in the Winter upon that Fort, his Majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to *Dunkirk*, and was present in that Action, and so near, that many were kill'd about him, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was next to him, had his Horse kill'd under him: they were willing his Majesty should remove to *Bussels*; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so towards the Spring, and before the Armies were in motion, he left *Bruges*, where he had receiv'd, both from the Bishop and the Magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a *Spaniard*, *Mark Ogniate*, Burgo-Master, who, being born of an *English* Mother, had all imaginable duty for the King, and being a Man of excellent parts, and very dextrous in business, was very serviceable to his Majesty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of *February*, in the year by that Account 1658, he went to *Brussels*, and never after return'd to *Bruges* to reside there.

The King sent to Don Juan "That "he would "accompa-"ny him "into the "field; which is refused.

The King present in the attempt upon Mardike.

The King leaves Bruges; and removes to Brussels in the end of Feb. 1658.

HIS Majesty was no sooner come thither, but *Don Alonzo* renew'd his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the Levellers. He had formerly prevailed with him to admit their Agent, one *Sexby*, to confer with him; which his Majesty willingly consented to, presuming that

Sexby might be privy to the Addreſs that had been made to him by the ſame Party, which he was not, though they that ſent the Addreſs well knew of his employment to the *Spaniard*, and had no mind to truſt him to the King, at leaſt not ſo ſoon. The Man, for an illiterate Perſon, ſpoke very well, and properly; and uſed thoſe words very well, the true meaning and ſignification whereof he could not underſtand. He had been, in the beginning, a Common Soldier of *Cromwell*'s Troops, and was afterwards one of thoſe Agitators who were made uſe of to controle the Parliament; and had ſo great an Intereſt in *Cromwell*, that he was frequently his Bed-fellow; a familiarity, he often admitted thoſe to whom he employed in any great Truſt, and with whom he could not ſo freely converſe, as in thoſe hours. He was very perfect in the Hiſtory of *Cromwell*'s diſſimulations, and would deſcribe his Artifices to the life, and did very well underſtand the temper of the Army, and very much undervalue the credit, and intereſt of the King's Party; and made ſuch demands to the King, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to reſtore him; in which *Don Alonzo* concurr'd ſo totally, that, when he ſaw that the King would not be adviſed by him, he ſent his Friend *Sexby* into *Spain* to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himſelf from ſo much as viſiting the King. And there need not be any other Character or deſcription of the Stupidity of that *Spaniard*, than that ſuch a fellow, with the help of an *Iriſh* Prieſt, ſhould be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his Maſter of ten thouſand Piſtoles; for he receiv'd not leſs than that in *Flanders*, whatever elſe he got by his Journey to *Madrid*; which did not uſe to be of ſmall expence to that Court.

An account of Sexby *and his Negotiation.*

NOTHING that was yet to come, could be more manifeſt, than it was to all diſcerning Men, that the firſt deſign the *French* Army would undertake, when they ſhould begin their Campagne, muſt be the Siege of *Dunkirk*; without taking which, *Mardike* would do them little good: beſides, their Contract with *Cromwell* was no ſecret; yet the *Spaniards* totally neglected making proviſions to defend it; being perſwaded by ſome Intelligence they always purchaſed at a great rate, to deceive themſelves, that the *French* would begin the Campagne with beſieging *Cambray*. In the beginning of the year, the Marquis *de Leyde*, Governour of *Dunkirk*, and the beſt Officer they had, in all reſpects, came to *Bruſſels*, having ſent ſeveral Expreſſes thither to no purpoſe to ſollicite for ſupplies. He told them, "That his Intelligence was infallible, that Mar- "ſhal *Turenne* was ready to march, and that the *French* King "himſelf would be in the Field to countenance the Siege of "*Dunkirk*, which he could not defend, if he were not ſup- "plied

The Marquis de Leyde *came to* Bruſſels *to ſollicite for ſupplies for* Dunkirk, *but in vain.*

"plied with Men, Ammunition, and Victual; of all which he ſtood in great need, and of neither of which he could get ſupply; They telling him, "That he would not be beſieged; "that they were ſure the *French* meant to attempt *Cambray*; which they provided the beſt they could; and bid him be confident, "That, if he were attacked, they would relieve "him with their Army, and Fight a Battle before he ſhould be "in danger. Being able to procure no other Anſwer, he return'd, and came to take his leave of the King as he went out of the Town, and complain'd very much to his Majeſty of their Counſels, and deluding themſelves with falſe Intelligence. He ſaid, "He was going to defend a Town without Men, without "Ammunition, and without Victual, againſt a very ſtrong "and Triumphant Army; that, if he could have obtain'd Sup"plies in any reaſonable degree, he ſhould have been able to "have entertain'd them ſome time; but in the condition he "was in, he could only loſe his Life there; which he was re"ſolv'd to do: And ſpoke as if he were very willing to do it; and was as good as his word.

Dunkirk beſieged by the French Army.

WITHIN three or four days after his return, the *French* Army appear'd before *Dunkirk*; and then the *Spaniard* believ'd it; and made what haſte they could to draw their Army together, which was very much diſperſed, ſo that, before they were upon their march, the *French* had perfected their Circumvalation, and render'd it impoſſible to put any Succours into the Town. Now they found it neceſſary indeed to hazard a Battle, which they had promiſed to do, when they intended nothing leſs. When the *Spaniards* had taken a full view of the poſture the Enemy was in, and were thereupon to chooſe their own ground, upon which they would be found, *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, who agreed in nothing elſe, reſolv'd how the Army ſhould be ranged; which the Prince of *Condè* diſſwaded them from; and told them very exactly what the Marſhal *Turenne* would do in that caſe; "And that he would ſtill maintain the Siege, "and give them likewiſe Battle upon the advantage of the "ground; whereas, if they would place their Army near ano"ther part of the Line, they ſhould eaſily have communica"tion with the Town, and compel the *French* to Fight with "more equal hazards.

The Prince of Condè's Advice to the Spaniards not hearken'd to.

IT might very reaſonably be ſaid of the Prince of *Condè* and Marſhal *Turenne*, what a good Roman Hiſtorian ſaid heretofore of *Jugurtha* and *Marius*, that "*in iiſdem caſtris didicere, "quæ poſtea in contrariis fecere*; They had in the ſame Ar"mies learned that Diſcipline, and thoſe Stratagems, which "they afterwards practiſed againſt each other in Enemy Ar"mies; and it was a wonderful, and a pleaſant thing to ſee

and obſerve in Attacks or in Marches, with what foreſight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the Prince of *Condè* when the Armies march'd near, and the *Spaniards* would not alter their former lazy pace, nor their reſt at noon, would in cholar tell them, "If we do not make "great haſte to poſſeſs ſuch a Paſs (which they never thought of) Marſhal *Turenne* will take it, though it be much farther "from him; and would then, when they conſider'd not what he ſaid, advance with his own Troops to poſſeſs the place, even when the *French* were come in view; and by ſuch ſeaſonable foreſights ſaved the *Spaniſh* Army from many diſtreſſes. And Marſhal *Turenne* had the ſame caution, and govern'd himſelf according as the Prince of *Condè* was in the Rere or Van of the Army; and, upon the matter, only conſider'd where He was, and order'd his Marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable Inſtance two years before, when the *Spaniſh* Army had beſieged *Arras*, and when the Duke of *York* was preſent with Marſhal *Turenne*. The *Spaniards* had made themſelves ſo very ſtrong, that when the *French* Army came thither, they found that they could not compel them to Fight, and that the Town muſt be loſt if they did not force the Line. Marſhal *Turenne*, accompanied with the Duke of *York*, who would never be abſent upon thoſe occaſions, and ſome of the principal Officers, ſpent two or three days in viewing the Line round, and obſerving and informing himſelf of all that was to be known, and riding ſo near the Line very frequently, that ſome of his Company were kill'd within much leſs than muſquet ſhot. In the end, he call'd ſome of the principal Officers, and ſaid, "He would, that day at noon, "aſſault the Line, at a place which he ſhew'd to them; which the Officers wonder'd at; and ſaid, "It was the ſtrongeſt "part of the Line; and that they had obſerv'd to him, that "the whole Line on the other ſide was very much weaker; to which the Marſhal replied, "You do not know who keeps "that Line, We ſhall do no good there; *Monſieur le Prince* "never ſleeps, and that is his Poſt; but I will tell you, what "will fall out on the other ſide; for he had himſelf march'd in the *Spaniſh* Army, and very well underſtood the Cuſtoms of it. He told them then, "That it would be very long, before "the Soldiers upon the Line, or the adjacent Guard, would "believe that the *French* were in earneſt, and that they would "in truth at that time of the day aſſault them; but would think "that they meant only to give them an Alarm: which they "were never warm in receiving: That when the *Spaniards* "were convinced that the *French* were in earneſt, in which "time he ſhould be got near their Line, they would ſend to "the Count of *Fuenſaldagna*, who at that time of the day was

"uſually

"uſually aſleep, and his Servants would not be perſwaded to "waken him in a moment: He would then ſend for his "Horſe, and ride up to the Line; which when he ſaw he "would with ſome haſte repair to the Arch-Duke's Tent; "who was likewiſe at his *Sieſto*, and when he was awake, "they would conſult what was to be done, by which time, the Marſhal ſaid, "They ſhould have done: And they did enter the Line accordingly, and found by the Priſoners, that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold. So the Siege was raiſed, the *Spaniards* fled without making any reſiſtance, left their Cannon, Bag and Baggage behind them: only the Prince of *Condè* was in ſo good order upon the firſt Alarm, that when he heard of the Confuſion they were in, he drew off with his Cannon, and loſt nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his Men to a place of ſafety.

The Battle of Dunkirk.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advice which the Prince of *Condè* had given, *Don Juan* was poſitive in his firſt Reſolution. The Prince, not without great indignation, conſented; and drew up his Troops in the place they deſired; and quickly ſaw all come to paſs that he had foretold. The Country was moſt incloſed, ſo that the Horſe could not Fight but in ſmall Bodies. The *Engliſh* Foot under *Lockhart* Charg'd the *Spaniſh* Foot, and, after a good reſiſtance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more reſiſtance on that ſide, the *Spaniſh* Horſe doing no better than their Foot. Our King's Foot were placed by themſelves upon a little riſing ground, and were Charg'd by the *French* Horſe after the *Spaniſh* Foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the Incloſures, there not being above two hundred taken Priſoners. The Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter* Charg'd ſeveral times on Horſe-back; and in the end, having gotten ſome Troops to go with them, Charg'd the *Engliſh* (whom, though Enemies, they were glad to ſee behave themſelves ſo well) and with great difficulty, and ſome blows of Muſquets, got ſafe off. But there was a rumour ſpread in the *French* Army, that the Duke of *York* was taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*, ſome Men undertaking to ſay that they ſaw him in their hands: whereupon many of the *French* Officers, and Gentlemen, reſolv'd to ſet him at Liberty, and rode up to the Body of *Engliſh*, and looked upon all their Priſoners, and found they were miſinform'd; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard, or danger, have enlarg'd him; ſo great an affection that Nation own'd to have for his Highneſs.

THE day being thus loſt with a greater Rout and Confuſion than loſs of Men, *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, who behaved themſelves in their own Perſons with

Courage enough, were contented to think better of the Prince of *Condé*'s advice, by which they preserv'd the best part of the Army, and retired to *Ipres* and *Furnes*, and the Duke of *York* to *Newport*, that they might defend the rest when *Dunkirk* should be taken; which was the present business of Marshal *Turenne*; who found the Marquis *de Leyde* resolv'd to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the Army; and therefore he betook himself again to that work, assoon as the *Spanish* Army was retired into fastness. The Marquis *de Leyde*, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from *Don Juan*, which whilst he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his Men, was now resolv'd to try what he could do for himself: so with as strong a Party as he could make, he made a desperate Sally upon the Enemy; who, though he disorder'd them, were quickly so seconded, that they drove him back into the Town with great loss, after himself had receiv'd a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the Officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he liv'd. The Marquis was a much greater loss than the Town; which the Master of the Field may be always Master of in two Months time at most. But in truth the death of the Marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wise Man, of great Experience, great Wisdom, and great Piety, after his way; insomuch as he had an intention to have taken Orders in the Church; to which he was most devoted.

Don Juan after the loss of the Battle retires to Ipres.

The Marquis de Leyde *Sallies upon the Enemy; is repulsed, and slain.*

THOSE in the Town had fair conditions to march to St *Omers*, that they might not joyn with the Reliques of their Army. The *French* King being by this time come to the Camp with the Cardinal, enter'd the Town, and took possession of it himself; which assoon as he had done, he deliver'd it into the hands of *Lockhart*, whom *Cromwell* had made Governour of it. Thus the Treaty was perform'd between them; and that King went presently to *Calais*, and from thence sent the Duke of *Crequy* together with *Mancini*, Nephew to the Cardinal, to *London*, to visit *Cromwell*; who likewise sent his Son in Law, the Lord *Falconbridge*, to *Calais*, to congratulate with that King for their joynt prosperity. And mutual professions were then renewed between them, with new obligations "Never to make Peace without each other's consent.

The Town of Dunkirk *surrender'd; and the* French *King delivers it to the* English.

WHEN *Don Juan* had first remov'd from *Brussels*, and the Army marched into the Field, the King had renew'd his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refused with the same positiveness he had been before. His Majesty thereupon resolv'd that he would not stay alone in *Brussels*, whilst all the World was in Action; but thought of some more private place, where he might take the Summer Air, and refresh himself during that Season. He was the more confirm'd in

this

this upon the News of the defeat of the Army near *Dunkirk*, and the loſs of that place. So he remov'd to a Village call'd *Hochſtraten*; where there were very good Houſes, capable to have receiv'd a greater Train than belong'd to His Court. Thither the King went about the Month of *Auguſt*; the Village lying upon the skirts of the States Dominions in *Brabant*, and within five or ſix miles of *Breda*, ſometimes he made Journies, *incognito*, to ſee places where he had not been before. *The King returns to Hochſtraten in Aug.*

THERE a Man might have obſerv'd the great difference of the condition, which the Subjects in the States Dominions, even in the ſight and view of the other, enjoy above what their Neighbours of the *Spaniſh* Territories are acquainted with. *Hochſtraten* is an open Village belonging to the Count of that name, and hath enjoy'd very ample Privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greateſt Nobles in the Duchy of *Brabant*. It is pleaſantly Seated, many very good Houſes, and the Mannor large of Extent, and of great Revenue. But by reaſon that it is always a Horſe-quarter in the Winter Seaſon, who uſe great licence, it is ſo poor, that thoſe good Houſes have only Walls; ſo that the People had not Furniture to ſupply thoſe Rooms which were for the accommodation of thoſe who attended the King, though they were ſure to be very well paid, and therefore uſed all the means they could to procure it. But there appear'd poverty in the faces and looks of the People, good Grounds without any Stock, and in a word, nothing that looked well but the Houſes, and thoſe empty within: on the other ſide of a Line that is drawn (for a Man may ſet one Foot in the Dominion that is reſerv'd to the King of *Spain*, and the other in that which is aſſign'd to the *Hollander*) the Houſes, though not ſtanding ſo thick, nor ſo beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furniſh'd within; very good Linen, and ſome Plate in every Houſe; the People jolly, well cloathed, and with looks very well pleaſed; all the Grounds and Land fully ſtocked with all kind of Cattle, and, as if it were the Land of *Goſhen*, the appearance of nothing but wealth, and fertility, encompaſſed with extreme barrenneſs, and unconceivable poverty. And they on the *Holland* ſide, that lies equally open, and undefended, can ſee the *Spaniſh* Troops exerciſe all Licence upon their poor Neighbours of *Hochſtraten*; and yet the moſt diſſolute among them dare not ſtep in their Quarters to take a Hen, or commit the leaſt Treſpaſs: ſo ſtrictly the Articles of the Peace are obſerv'd.

WHILST the King ſpent his time in this manner, about the middle of *September*, the Duke of *York*, who remain'd ſtill with the Troops at *Newport* to defend that place, as *Don Juan*, and the reſt, remain'd about *Furnes* and *Bruges*, ſent an Expreſs to the King to let him know, "That the Letters from "*England*,

The King has notice that Cromwell was dead.

The King returns to Brussels upon it.

"*England*, and some Passengers, reported confidently that "*Cromwell* was dead; which, there having been no News of his sickness, was not at first easily believ'd. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his Majesty thought fit to give over his Country Life, and return'd again to *Brussels*, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon so great an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

Cromwell's Affairs some time before his death.

It had been observ'd in *England*, that, though from the dissolution of the last Parliament, all things seem'd to succeed, at home and abroad, to the Protector's wish, and his Power and Greatness to be better establish'd than ever it had been, yet he never had the same serenity of Mind he had been used to, after he had refused the Crown; but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were Conscious of not having been true to himself; and much more apprehensive of danger to his Person than he had used to be. Insomuch as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad; and seem'd to be in some disorder, when his Eyes found any stranger in the Room; upon whom they were still fixed. When he intended to go to *Hampton Court*, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known, till he was in the Coach, which way he would go; and he was still hem'd in by his Guards both before and behind; and the Coach in which he went, was always thronged as full as it could be, with his Servants who were armed; and he seldom return'd the same way he went; and rarely lodged two Nights together in one Chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own Key convey'd him, and those he would have with him when he had a mind to go to Bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and publick, because he had never been accustom'd to those precautions.

Syndercome's design against him a good while before this.

It is very true, he knew of many Combinations to assassinate him, by those who, he believ'd, wish'd the King no good. And a good while before this, when he had discover'd the design of *Syndercome*, who was a very stout Man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected Accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his Examination and Tryal, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had many more Associates, who were undiscover'd and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemn'd to dye, the Fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the Judgment; which made *Cromwell* believe, that a Party in the Army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave

strict

ſtrict charge, "That he ſhould be carefully look'd to in the "Tower, and three or four of the Guard always with him "day and night.

AT the day appointed for his Execution, thoſe Troops *Cromwell* was moſt confident of, were placed on the Tower-Hill, where the Gallows were erected. But when the Guard call'd *Syndercome* to ariſe in the morning, they found him dead in his Bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to *Cromwell*; for beſides that he hoped, that at his death, to avoid the utmoſt rigour of it, he would have confeſſed many of his Confederates, he now found himſelf under the reproach of having cauſed him to be poyſon'd, as not daring to bring him to publick Juſtice: nor could he ſuppreſs that Scandal. It appear'd upon Examination, that the night before, when he was going to Bed in the preſence of his Guard, his Siſter came to take her leave of him; and upon her going away, he put off his Cloaths, and leaped into his Bed, and ſaid, "This was the "laſt Bed he ſhould ever go into. His Body was drawn by a Horſe to the Gallows where he ſhould have been hanged, and buried under it, with a Stake driven through him, as is uſual in the caſe of ſelf Murderers: yet this Accident perplexed *Cromwell* very much; and though he was without the particular diſcovery which he expected, he made a general diſcovery by it, that he himſelf was more odious in his Army than he believ'd he had been.

The death of the Earl of Warwick, and of the Earl's Grandſon.

HE ſeem'd to be much afflicted at the death of his Friend the Earl of *Warwick*; with whom he had a faſt Friendſhip; though neither their humours, nor their natures, were like. And the Heir of that Houſe, who had Married his youngeſt Daughter, died about the ſame time; ſo that all his relation to, or confidence in that Family was at an end; the other Branches of it abhorring his Alliance. His Domeſtick delights were leſſen'd every day: he plainly diſcover'd that his Son *Falconbridge's* Heart was ſet upon an Intereſt deſtructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which chiefly broke his Peace, was the death of his Daughter *Claypole*; who had been always his greateſt joy, and who, in her ſickneſs, which was of a nature the Phyſicians knew not how to deal with, had ſeveral Conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him. Though no body was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains ſhe endur'd, the blood her Father had ſpilt, made People conclude, that ſhe had preſented his worſt Actions to his conſideration. And though he never made the leaſt ſhew of remorſe for any of thoſe Actions, it is very certain, that either what ſhe ſaid, or her death, affected him wonderfully.

The death of Cromwell's Daughter Claypole.

WHAT

Cromwell seised on by an Ague in August:

WHATEVER it was, about the middle of *August*, he was seised on by a common tertian Ague, from which, he believ'd, a little ease and divertisement at *Hampton Court* would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his Spirits much abated: so that he return'd again to *White-Hall*, when his Physicians begun to think him in danger, though the Preachers, who pray'd always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his Service, declared as from God, that he should recover: and he himself was of the same mind, and did not think he should die, till even the time that his Spirits fail'd him. Then he declared to them, "That he did "appoint his Son to succeed him, his eldest Son *Richard*; and so expired upon the third day of *September* 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest Victories. And this now was a day very memorable for the greatest Storm of Wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew Trees, Houses, and made great Wrecks at Sea; and the Tempest was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in *France* and *Flanders*, where all People trembled at it; for besides the Wrecks all along the Sea-Coast, many Boats were cast away in the very Rivers; and within few days after, the circumstance of his death, that accompanied that Storm, was universally known.

He appoints his Son Richard his Successor; and expires Septemb. 3

The terrible Storm on the same day.

His Character.

HE was one of those Men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent*; whom his very Enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time: for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of Courage, Industry and Judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the Natures and Humours of Men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth (though of a good Family) without Interest or Estate, Alliance or Friendship; could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory Tempers, Humours, and Interests into a consistence, that contributed to His designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of *Cinna* may very justly be said of Him, *ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perficisse, quæ à nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent.* He attempted those things which no good Man durst have ventur'd on; and atchieved those in which none but a valiant and great Man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no Man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly,

wickedly, more in the face and contempt of Religion, and moral Honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplish'd those designs, without the assistance of a great Spirit, an admirable circumspection, and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the Parliament, he seem'd to have a Person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those Talents which use to conciliate the Affections of the Stander by: yet as he grew into Place and Authority, his parts seem'd to be raised, as if he had Had conceal'd Faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great Man, he did it without any indecency, notwistanding the want of Custom.

After he was confirm'd, and invested Protector by the humble *Petition and Advice*, he consulted with very few upon any Action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolv'd upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolv'd, in which he was not rash, he would not be diswaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

One time, when he had laid some very extraordinary Tax upon the City, one *Cony*, an eminent Fanatick, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part; and loudly diswaded others from submitting to it. "As an imposition notoriously against the Law, "and the Property of the Subject, which all honest Men were "bound to defend. *Cromwell* sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of, "The old kindness, and Friendship, that "had been between them; and that of all Men he did not "expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so ne-"cessary for the good of the Common-wealth. It had been always his fortune to meet with the most rude, and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely govern'd by him; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature: so this Man remember'd him, how great an Enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared, "That "all who submitted to them, and paid illegal Taxes, were "more to blame, and greater Enemies to their Country than "they who had imposed them; and that the Tyranny of "Princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and "stupidity of the People. When *Cromwell* saw that he could not convert him, he told him, "That he had a Will as stub-"born as His, and he would try which of them two should be "Master. Thereupon, with some expressions of reproach and

and contempt, he committed the Man to Prison, whose courage was nothing abated by it; but assoon as the Term came, he brought his *Habeas Corpus* in the King's Bench, which they then Call'd the *Upper* Bench. *Maynard*, who was of Council with the Prisoner, demanded his Liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the Commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful Authority. The Judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their Sentence would be; and therefore the Protector's Atturney requir'd a farther day, to answer what had been urged. Before that day, *Maynard* was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his Authority; and the Judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that Licence; when they, with all humility, mention'd the Law and *Magna Charta*, *Cromwell* told them, with terms of contempt, and derision, "Their *Magna F*---- should not controle his Actions; which "he knew were for the safety of the Common-wealth. He asked them, "Who made them Judges? whether they had any "Authority to sit there, but what He gave them? and if his "Authority were at an end, they knew well enough, what "would become of themselves; and therefore advised them "to be more tender of that which could only preserve them; and so dismissed them with caution, "That they should not "suffer the Lawyers to prate what it would not become them "to hear.

THUS he subdued a Spirit that had been often troublesome to the most Soveraign Power, and made *Westminster-Hall* as obedient, and subservient to his Commands, as any of the rest of his Quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the Life of his Jurisdiction, he seem'd to have great reverence for the Law, rarely interposing between Party and Party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation, and haughtiness, with those who were refractory, and durst contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good Pleasure, and courted his Protection, he used great Civility, Generosity, and Bounty.

TO reduce three Nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his Dictates; to awe, and govern those Nations by an Army that was indevoted to him, and wish'd his ruin, was an Instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home, was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover, which fear'd him most, *France*, *Spain*, or the Low Countries, where his Friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their Honour, and their Interest, to his Pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would

would have denied him. To manifeſt which, there needs only two Inſtances. The firſt is, when thoſe of the Valley of *Lucern* had unwarily riſen in Arms againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, which gave occaſion to the Pope, and the Neighbour Princes of *Italy*, to call and ſollicite for their extirpation, and their Prince poſitively reſolv'd upon it, *Cromwell* ſent his Agent to the Duke of *Savoy*; a Prince with whom he had no correſpondence, or commerce, and ſo engaged the Cardinal, and even terrified the Pope himſelf, without ſo much as doing any Grace to the *Engliſh* Roman Catholick (nothing being more uſual than his ſaying, "That his Ships in the *Mediterranean* "ſhould viſit *Civita Vecchia*; and that the ſound of his Cannon "ſhould be heard in *Rome*) that the Duke of *Savoy* thought it neceſſary to reſtore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all thoſe Privileges they had formerly enjoy'd, and newly forfeited. *Two Inſtances of his Intereſt among foreign Princes.*

THE other Inſtance of his Authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the City of *Niſmes*, which is one of the faireſt in the Province of *Languedoc*, and where thoſe of the Religion do moſt abound, there was a great Faction at that Seaſon when the Conſuls (who are the Chief Magiſtrates) were to be choſen. Thoſe of the Reform'd Religion had the confidence to ſet up one of themſelves for that Magiſtracy; which they of the Roman Religion reſolv'd to oppoſe with all their Power. The diſſenſion between them made ſo much noiſe, that the Intendant of the Province, who is the ſupreme Miniſter in all Civil Affairs throughout the whole Province, went thither to prevent any diſorder that might happen. When the day of Election came, thoſe of the Religion poſſeſſed themſelves with many Arm'd Men of the Town-Houſe, where the Election was to be made. The Magiſtrates ſent to know what their meaning was; to which they anſwer'd, "They were there to give their Voices for the choice of the "new Conſuls, and to be ſure that the Election ſhould be "fairly made. The Biſhop of the City, the Intendant of the Province, with all the Officers of the Church, and the preſent Magiſtrates of the Town, went together in their Robes to be preſent at the Election, without any ſuſpicion that there would be any Force uſed. When they came near the Gate of the Town-Houſe, which was ſhut, and they ſuppoſed would be open'd when they came, they within pour'd out a Volly of Muſquet-ſhot upon them, by which the Dean of the Church, and two or three of the Magiſtrates of the Town, were kill'd upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof ſome died ſhorty after. In this Confuſion, the Magiſtrates put themſelves into as good a poſture to defend themſelves as they could, without any purpoſe of offending the others,

others, till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an Express to the Court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "And that there appear'd to be no manner of Combination with those of the Religion in other "places of the Province; but that it was an insolence in those "of the place, upon the presumption of their great Numbers, "which were little inferior to those of the Catholicks. The Court was glad of the Occasion, and resolv'd that this provocation, in which other places were not involv'd, and which no body could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that City, even to the pulling down their Temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the City; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal Persons, would be a general Mortification to all of the Religion in *France*; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the Army was forthwith order'd to march towards *Nismes*, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

THOSE of the Religion in the Town, were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent with all possible Submission, to the Magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular Men, who had no order for what they did. The Magistrates answer'd, "That they were glad they "were sensible of their Miscarriage; but they could say no-"thing upon the Subject, till the King's pleasure should be "known; to whom they had sent a full relation of all that "had passed. The others very well knew what the King's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an Express, one *Moulins*, who had liv'd many years in the place, and in *Montpelier*, to *Cromwell*, to desire his protection and interposition. The Express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that *Cromwell*, after he had receiv'd the whole Account, bad him "Refresh himself after "so long a Journey, and he would take such care of his busi-"ness, that by the time he came to *Paris* he should find it "dispatch'd; and, that Night sent away another Messenger to his Embassadour *Lockhart*; who, by the time *Moulins* came thither, had so far prevailed with the Cardinal, that Orders were sent to stop the Troops, which were upon their March towards *Nismes*; and, within few days after, *Moulins* return'd with a full Pardon, and Amnesty from the King, under the Great Seal of *France*, so fully confirm'd with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing So that no body can wonder, that his Memory remains still in those parts, and with those People, in great veneration.

HE would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever

ever asked of the Cardinal, alledging, "That the People would "not be otherwise satisfied; which the Cardinal bore very heavily, and complain'd of to those with whom he would be free. One day, he visited Madam *Turenne*, and when he took his leave of her, She according to her Custom, besought him to continue gracious to the Churches. Whereupon the Cardinal told her, "That he knew not how to behave himself; "if he advised the King to punish and suppress their Inso- "lence, *Cromwell* threaten'd him to joyn with the *Spaniard*; "and if he shew'd any favour to them, at *Rome* they accounted "him an Heretick.

The Conclusion of his Character.

To Conclude his Character, *Cromwell* was not so far a Man of blood, as to follow *Machiavel*'s method; which prescribes, upon a total alteration of Government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their Families, who are Friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the Council of Officers, it was more than once proposed, "That there might be a general "Massacre of all the Royal Party, as the only expedient to "secure the Government, but that *Cromwell* would never con- "sent to it; it may be, out of too great a contempt of his Enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many Crimes against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good Qualities which have caused the Memory of some Men in all Ages to be celebrated; and he will be look'd upon by Posterity as a brave wicked Man.

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XVI.

Zechar. II. 4, 5, 6.

Thus saith the Lord my God, Feed the flock of the slaughter.

Whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty: and they that sell them, say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich: and their own shepherds pity them not.

But lo, I will deliver the men every one into his Neighbours hand, and into the hand of his King.

CONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this Earthquake was attended with no signal Alteration. It was believ'd that *Lambert* would be in the head of the Army, and that *Monk* in *Scotland* would never submit to be under him. Besides the expectation the King had from the general Affection of the Kingdom, he had fair promises from Men of Interest in it, and of Command in the Army, who professed to prepare for such a Conjuncture as this; and that the disorder arising from *Cromwell*'s death might dispose *Lockhart* to depend upon the best Title, seem'd a reasonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never Monarch, after he had inherited a Crown by many descents, died in more silence, nor with less alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm in the Kingdom than had been before. *The beginning of Richard's Government.*

THE next Morning after the death of *Oliver*, *Richard* his Son is Proclaim'd his Lawful Successor; the Army congratulate their new General, and renew their Vows of fidelity to

him; the Navy doth the like; the City appears more unanimous for his Service, than they were for his Fathers; and moſt Countries in *England*, by Addreſſes under their hands, teſtified their obedience to their new Soveraign without any heſitation. The dead is interr'd in the Sepulcher of the Kings, and with the obſequies due to ſuch. His Son inherits all his Greatneſs, and all his Glory, without the publick hate, that viſibly attended the other. Forreign Princes addreſſed their Condolences to him, and deſired to renew their Alliances; and nothing was heard in *England* but the voice of Joy, and large Encomiums of their new Protector: ſo that the King's condition never appear'd ſo hopeleſs, ſo deſperate; for a more favourable Conjuncture his Friends could never expect than this, which now ſeem'd to blaſt all their hopes, and confirm their utmoſt deſpair.

IT is probable that this Melancholick proſpect might have continued long, if this Child of Fortune could have ſat ſtill, and been contented to have enjoy'd his own felicity. But his Council thought it neceſſary that he ſhould call a Parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to diſpel all Clouds which might ariſe. And there ſeem'd to be the more reaſon for it, becauſe the laſt Alliance which *Oliver* had made with the Crown of *Sweden*, and of which he was fonder than of all the reſt, did oblige him in the Spring to ſend a ſtrong Fleet into the *Sound*, to aſſiſt that King againſt *Denmark*; at leaſt to induce *Denmark*, by way of mediation, to accept of ſuch conditions as the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without ſome aſſiſtance of Parliament; and therefore the new Protector ſent out his Writs to call a Parliament, to meet together on the twenty ſeventh day of *January*; till which day, for near five Months, he remain'd as great a Prince as ever his Father had been. He follow'd the Modell that was left him; and ſent out his Writs to call thoſe as Peers who had conſtituted the Other Houſe in the former Parliament; and ſo both Lords and Commons met at a day aſſign'd.

He calls a Parliament to meet Jan. 27. 1659.

It meets on that day.

RICHARD came to the Parliament in the ſame State that *Oliver* his Father had done; and ſent the Gentleman Uſher of the Black-Rod to the Commons, that they ſhould attend him in the other Houſe; where, firſt by himſelf, and then by the Keeper of his Great Seal, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, he recommended to them the proſecution of the War with *Spain*, and the aſſiſtance of the King of *Sweden* in the *Sound*. He had good fortune at the beginning, that all the Commons ſign'd an *Engagement* not to alter the preſent Government. But they were no ſonner incloſed within thoſe Walls, than there appear'd the old Republican Spirit, though more wary than

The buſineſs recommended to them by the Protector.

than it had used to be. It begun with enquiring into the Accounts, how the Money had been spent, and into the Offices of Excise and Customs, and what was become of all that Revenue. When they were called upon to settle the Act of Recognition, to confirm *Richard*, and his Authority in the State, they would first inform themselves of their own Authority, and how far the Government was already settled, and what part was fit to be assign'd to the other House; which they would by no means allow to be a part of the Government already establish'd, which they had promised not to alter. Upon this Argument they exercised themselves with great Licence, as well upon the Creator of those Peers, and the Power of the late Protector, as upon his Creatures the Peers; of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the Quality they had been of, nor that which they were now grown to. They put the House in mind, "How grievous it had been to the Kingdom, that the "Bishops had sate in the House of Peers, because they were "look'd upon as so many Votes for the King; which was a "reason much stronger against these Persons; who were all "the work of the Protector's own hand, and therefore could "not but be entirely addicted and devoted to his Interest. They concluded, "That they could not, with good Con-"sciences, and without the guilt of Perjury, ever consent, that "That other House should have any part in the Government, "since they had all taken the Engagement, that there should "be no more any House of Peers, since the Office of Pro-"tector had been, and might still continue without it.

Differences rise in the House of Commons about the accounts of Money, and about the other House, &c.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this confidence, which disturbed the Method intended to be proceeded in, this violent Party could not prevail, but it was carried by the Major part of the House, "That they would meet, and confer with the "other House, as a part of the Parliament, during this pre-"sent Parliament; and likewise, that such other Persons, as "had a right to come to that other House, and had not for-"feited it by their breach of Trust (by which they meant those Lords who had been always against the King) "Should "not be restrain'd from coming thither: yet the Temper of the House of Commons could hardly be judged by all this. Some things were done, which looked like condescension to the Royal Party; but more for the countenance of the *Prebyterians*; and whatsoever contradicted those who were for a Republick, was looked upon as favourable to the Protector.

It was carried, that the other House should be allow'd.

THE stirring these several humours, and the drowsy temper of *Richard*, raised another Spirit in the Army. A new Council of Officers met together by their own Authority, and admitted *Lambert*, though no Member of the Army, to consult

A new Council of Officers met, who consult about the Government.

fult with them; they neither liked Protector, nor Parliament, but conſulted what Government to ſettle, that might be better than either: yet they would not incenſe them both together, nor appear to have any diſinclination to *Richard*, who had many of his neareſt Friends amongſt them. They therefore prepared an Addreſs to him; in which they complain'd of, "The "great Arrears of pay that were due to the Army, by which "they were in great Streights: That they, who had borne the "brunt of the War, and undergone all the difficulties and "dangers of it, were now undervalued, derided, and laid aſide: "That the Good Old Cauſe was ill ſpoken of, and traduced "by Malignants and diſaffected Perſons; who grew every day "more Inſolent, and their Numbers encreaſed, by the reſort "out of *Flanders*, and other places; and they had ſeveral ſe-"cret meetings in the City of *London*: That the Names of "all thoſe who had ſate upon the late King as his Judges, were "lately Printed, and ſcatter'd abroad, as if they were deſign'd to "deſtruction; and that many Suits were commenced at Com-"mon Law againſt honeſt Men, for what they had tranſacted "in the War as Soldiers: That thoſe famous Acts which had "been performed in the long Parliament, and by the late Pro-"tector, were cenſured, rail'd at, and vilified. By all which, they ſaid, "It was very manifeſt, that the Good Old Cauſe "was declined; which they were reſolv'd to aſſert. And "therefore they beſought his Highneſs to repreſent thoſe their "Complaints to the Parliament, and to require proper and "ſpeedy Remedies.

Their Addreſs to Richard, Apr. 6. 1659.

THIS Addreſs was deliver'd from the Army by *Fleetwood* to *Richard*, on *April* 6th 1659; which was no ſooner known, than *Tichburn*, and *Ireton*, two Aldermen of *London*, and principal Commanders of that Militia, drew up likewiſe a Remonſtrance, and ſent it to the Council of Officers; in which they declared their Reſolutions with the Army to ſtick to the Good Old Cauſe, and that they were reſolv'd to accompany them, in whatſoever they ſhould do for what they call'd the Nation's good.

The City Militia ſecond them.

The Parliament was quickly alarm'd with theſe Cabals of the Army, and the City; which *Richard* was as much terrified with, as They. In order to the ſuppreſſion thereof, the Parliament Voted, "That there ſhould be no meeting, or ge-"neral Council of Officers, without the Protector's Conſent, "and by his Order: and that no Perſon ſhould have Com-"mands by Sea or Land, in either of the three Nations, who "did not immediately ſubſcribe, that he would not diſturb the "free meetings of Parliaments, or of any Members in either "Houſe of Parliament; nor obſtruct their freedom in De-"bates and Counſels. Theſe Votes, or to this effect, were

Votes of the Parliament upon it.

ſent

ſent to *Richard*, and by him preſently to *Wallingford* Houſe, where the Council of Officers then ſate.

THESE Officers were Men who reſolv'd to execute as well as order; they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no ſooner receiv'd theſe Votes, but they ſent *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* to *Richard* (the firſt had married his Siſter; the other was his Uncle; both raiſed by *Cromwell*) to adviſe him forthwith to diſſolve the Parliament. They were two upon whoſe Affection, in regard of the nearneſs of their Alliance, and their obligation to, and dependence upon his Father, he had as much reaſon to be confident, as on any Men's in the Nation. *Fleetwood* uſed no Arguments but of Conſcience, "To prevent the Nation's "being engaged in blood; which, he ſaid, "Would inevita-"bly fall out, if the Parliament were not preſently diſſolv'd. *Desborough* a fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats, and menaces; told him, "It was impoſſible for "him to keep both the Parliament and the Army, his Friends; wiſhed him, "To chooſe which he would prefer: if he diſ-ſolv'd the Parliament out of hand, he had the Army at his "Devotion; if he refuſed that, he believ'd the Army would "quickly pull him out of *White-Hall*.

The Officers adviſe him to diſſolve the Parliament.

THE poor Man had not Spirit enough to diſcern what was beſt for him; and yet he was not without Friends to Counſel him, if he had been capable to receive Counſel. Beſides many Members of the Parliament, of Courage and Intereſt, who repair'd to him with aſſurance, "That the Parliament would con-"tinue firm to him, and deſtroy the Ring-leaders of this Seditious Crew, if he would adhere to the Parliament; but if "he were prevail'd upon to diſſolve it, he would be left with-"out a Friend; and they who had compell'd him to do ſo "imprudent an Action, would contemn him when he had "done it: Some Officers of the Army likewiſe of equal Courage and Intereſt with any of the reſt, perſwaded him "To re-"ject the deſire of thoſe who call'd themſelves the Council of "the Army, and to think of puniſhing their preſumption. *Ingoldsby*, *Whalley*, and *Goffe*, three Colonels of the Army, and the two former, Men of ſignal Courage, offer'd to ſtand by him; and one of them offer'd to kill *Lambert* (whom they looked upon as the Author of this Conſpiracy) if he would give him a Warrant to that purpoſe.

Advice to Richard to the contrary.

And of ſome Officers of the Army.

RICHARD continued irreſolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, *Desborough* and his Companions prevail'd with him, before they parted, to ſign a Commiſſion, which they had cauſed to be prepared to *Nathaniel Fiennes*, his Keeper of the Seal, to diſſolve the Parliament the next morning; of which the Parliament having notice, they

He is prevail'd with to diſſolve the Parliament.

resolv'd not to go up. So that when *Fiennes* sent for them to the other House, the Commons shut the door of their House, and would not suffer the Gentleman Usher of the Black-rod to come in, but adjourn'd themselves for three days, till the five and twentieth of *April*, imagining that they should by that time convert the Protector from destroying himself. But the poor Creature was so hared by the Council of Officers, that he presently caused a Proclamation to be issued out, by which he did declare the Parliament to be dissolved. And from that minute no body resorted to him, nor was the Name of the Protector afterwards heard of, but in derision; the Council of Officers appointing Guards to attend at *Westminster*, which kept out those Members, who in pursuance of their adjournment, would have enter'd into the House upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme pusillanimity, the Son suffer'd himself to be stripped, in one moment, of all the Greatness, and Power, which the Father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful Courage, Industry, and Resolution.

He issues out a Proclamation to that purpose; whereupon his Protectorship was at an end.

WHEN the Council of Officers had, with this strange Success, having no Authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a Superior; or, as the Phrase then was, remov'd the *single Person*, they knew that they could not long hold the Government in their own hands, if before any thing else, they did not remove *Ingoldsby*, *Whaley*, *Goffe*, and those other Officers, who had dissuaded *Richard* from submitting to their Advice, from having any Command in the Army; which they therefore did; and replaced *Lambert*, and all the rest who had been Cashiered by *Oliver*, into their own Charges again. So that the Army was become Republican to their wish; and that the Government might return to be purely such, they publish'd a Declaration upon the sixth of *May*, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good old Cause, and accusing themselves, "For having been "instrumental in declining from it; whence all the ills, the "Common-wealth had sustain'd, had proceeded, and the Vin- "dication whereof they were resolv'd to pursue for the fu- "ture; they remember'd, "That the long Parliament, con- "sisting of those Members who had continued to sit till the "twentieth of *April* 1653 (which was the day that *Cromwell*, with the assistance of those very Officers, had pull'd them out of the House, and dismissed them) "Had been eminent As- "sertors of that Cause, and had a special Presence of God with "them, and were signally blessed in that Work. They said "that the desires of many good People concurring with them, "they did, by that Declaration, according to their duty, in- "vite those Members to return to the discharge of their Trust, "as they had done before that day; and promised, "That "they

The Council of Officers restore Lambert, &c. to the Army and remove many of Cromwell's Friends. They issue a Declaration to restore the long Parliament, May 6.

"they would be ready, in their places, to yield them their "utmoſt Aſſiſtance, that they might ſit and conſult in ſafety, "for the ſettling and ſecuring the Peace and Quiet of the Com- "mon-wealth, for which they had now ſo good an oppor- "tunity. And this Declaration, within very few days, they ſeconded with what they call'd *The humble Petition and Addreſs of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament*; which contain'd ſeveral advices, or rather poſitive directions how they were to Govern.

THIS reſtoring the Rump Parliament was the only way in which they could moſt agree, though it was not ſuitable to what ſome of them deſired: They well foreſaw, that they might give an opportunity of more People to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the ſurviving Members of that Parliament would pretend a Title to ſit there: And therefore, they did not only carefully limit the Convention to ſuch Members who had continued to ſit from *January* 1648 to *April* 1653, but cauſed a Guard likewiſe to attend to hinder, and keep the other Members from entring into the Houſe. When *Lenthal*, the old Speaker, with forty or fifty of thoſe old Members ſpecified in the Declaration, took their places in the Houſe, and ſome of the old excluded Members likewiſe got in, and enter'd into Debate with them upon the matters propoſed, the Houſe was adjourn'd till the next day: And then better care was taken, by appointing ſuch Perſons, who well knew all the Members, to inform the Guards, who were, and who were not to go into the Houſe. By this means that Cabal only was ſuffer'd to enter which had firſt form'd the Common-wealth, and foſter'd it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the Government into theſe Men's hands again, ſeem'd to be the moſt diſmal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the King by the roots.

Some of the old excluded Members went into the Houſe with them, but were excluded again.

WE muſt, for the better obſervation, and diſtinction of the ſeveral Changes in the Government, call this Congregation of Men, who were now repoſſeſſed of it, by the Style they call'd themſelves, The Parliament; how far ſoever they were from being one. They reſolv'd in the firſt place to vindicate, and eſtabliſh their own Authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilſt there was ſtill a Protector, or the Name of a Protector in being, and reſiding in *White-Hall*. They appointed therefore a Committee to go to *Richard Cromwell*, and that he might have hope they would be his good Maſters, firſt to enquire into the State of his Debts, and then to demand of him, whether He acquieſced in the preſent Government? He, already humbled to that poverty of Spirit they could wiſh, gave the Committee a Paper, "In which "he

The Parliament ſent to Richard to know whether he acquieſced, and ſubmitted to their Authority.

"he said, was contain'd the State of his Debts, and how con-"tracted; which amounted to twenty nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

To the other Question, his Answer was likewise in writing; "That He trusted, his carriage and behaviour had mani-"fested his Acquiescence in the Will and good Pleasure of "God, and that he loved and valued the Peace of the Com-"mon-wealth much above his private concernment; desiring "by this, that a measure of his future comportment might be "taken; which, by the blessing of God, should be such as "should bear the same Witness; he having, he hoped, in "some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the "hand of God, than be unquiet under it: That, as to the late "Providence that had fallen out, however, in respect to the "particular Engagement that lay upon him, he could not be "active in making a Change in the Government of the Na-"tions, yet, through the goodness of God, he could freely "acquiesce in it being made; and did hold himself obliged, "as with other Men he might expect Protection from the "present Government, so to demean himself with all peace-"ableness under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of his "power, that all in whom he had Interest should do the "same.

THIS satisfied them as to *Richard*; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory Spirit in his Brother *Harry*, who was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and looked upon as a Man of another Air and Temper. He had in his Exercise of that Government, by the frankness of his humour, and a general Civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, render'd himself Gracious and Popular to all sorts of People, and might have been able to have made some Contests with the Parliament. But assoon as he receiv'd an Order from them to attend them in Person, he thought not fit to be Wiser than his elder Brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his Commission at their Feet; which they accepted, and put the Government of that Kingdom into the hands of *Ludlow*, and four other Commissioners.

Harry Cromwell likewise submits and resigns his Commission of Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Parliament makes Ludlow, *and four other Commissioners, Governours of* Ireland,

IT may not prove ingrateful to the Reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story that related to this miserable *Richard*, though it happen'd long afterwards; because there will be scarce again any occasion so much as to mention him, during the continuance of this Relation. Shortly after the King's Return, and the manifest joy that possessed the whole Kingdom thereupon, this poor Creature found it necessary to Transport himself into *France*, more for fear of his Debts than of the King; who thought it not ne-

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ceſſary to enquire after a Man ſo long forgotten. After he had liv'd ſome years in *Paris* untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a moſt obſcure condition and diſguiſe, not owning his own Name, nor having above one Servant to attend him, he thought it neceſſary, upon the firſt rumour and apprehenſion that there was like to be a War between *England* and *France*, to quit that Kingdom, and to remove to ſome place that would be Neutral to either Party; and pitched upon *Geneva*. Making his way thither by *Bourdeaux*, and through the Province of *Languedoc*, he paſſed through *Pezenas*, a very pleaſant Town belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, who hath a fair Palace there, and being then Governour of *Languedoc*, made his Reſidence in it.

In this place *Richard* made ſome ſtay, and walking abroad to entertain himſelf with the view of the Situation, and of many things worth the ſeeing, he met with a Perſon who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his Father's, and of His Party; ſo that they were glad enough to find themſelves together. The other told him, "That all Strangers who came to that Town, "uſed to wait upon the Prince of *Conti*, the Governour of "the Province; who expected it, and always treated Strangers, "and particularly the *Engliſh*, with much Civility: That he "need not be known, but that he himſelf would firſt go to "the Prince and inform him, that another *Engliſh* Gentleman "was paſſing through that Town towards *Italy*, who would "be glad to have the honour to kiſs his hands. The Prince receiv'd him with great Civility and Grace, according to his natural cuſtom, and after few words, begun to diſcourſe of the Affairs of *England*, and asked many Queſtions concerning the King, and whether all Men were quiet, and ſubmitted obediently to him; which the other anſwer'd briefly, according to the truth. Well, ſaid the Prince, "*Oliver*, though "he was a Traytor and a Villain, was a brave Fellow, had "great Parts, great Courage, and was worthy to Command; "but that *Richard*, that Coxcomb, *Coquin*, *Poltron*, was ſurely "the baſeſt Fellow alive; What is become of that Fool? "How was it poſſible he could be ſuch a Sot? He anſwer'd, "That he was betray'd by thoſe whom he moſt truſted, and "who had been moſt obliged by his Father; ſo being weary of his Viſit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the Town, out of fear that the Prince might know that He was the very Fool and Coxcomb he had mention'd ſo kindly. And within two days after, the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated ſo well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believ'd to be a Man not very glad of the King's Reſtoration.

Monk

Monk from Scotland declares his obedience to them.

MONK from *Scotland* presented his Obedience to the Parliament, and the assurance of the Fidelity of the Army under his Command, to all their determinations. The Navy Congratulated their Return to the Soveraign Power, and tender'd their Submission. The Embassadours who were in the Town, quickly receiv'd new Credentials, and then had Audience from them, as their good Allies, making all the Professions to them, which they had formerly done to *Oliver* and *Richard*.

So does the Navy.

They continued Lockhart Embassadour in France.

The Parliament continued *Lockhart* as their Embassadour in *France*, as a Man who could best cajole the Cardinal, and knew well the Intrigues of that Court. They sent Embassadours to the *Sound*, to mediate a Peace between those two Crowns, being resolv'd to decline all Occasions of expence abroad, that they might the better settle their Government at home. To that purpose they were willing to put an end to the War with *Spain*, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it which would not consist with their Honour. That they might throughly unite their Friends of the Army to them, they passed an Act of Indemnity to pardon all their former Transgressions, and Tergiversations, which had been the cause of the Parliament's former dissolution, and of all the Mischief which had follow'd.

They send Embassadours to mediate Peace between the two Northern Crowns.

They pass an Act of Indemnity to the Army.

NOW there appear'd as great a Calm as ever, and their Government well settled, to the general content of the People of their Party, who testified the same by their Acclamations, and likewise by particular Addresses. And that they might be sure to be liable to no more Affronts, they would no more make a General, which might again introduce a single Person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorr'd. And to make That impossible, as they thought, they appointed "The "Speaker to execute the Office of General, in such manner "as they should direct: and that all Commissions should be "granted by him, and sealed with their own Seal; all the "Seals used by the *Cromwells* being broken. And accordingly all the Officers of the Army, and Navy (for the Speaker was Admiral as well as General) deliver'd up their Commissions, and took new Ones in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their Empire could be shaken.

They appoint all Commissions Military to be sign'd by the Speaker.

BUT these Men had not sate long in their old places, when they call'd to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches, and the contempt they underwent from all kind of People; but above all, the Scoffs and derision they suffer'd from the King's Party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in Power and Authority with themselves. And though the smart they felt from others

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vexed and anger'd them as much, yet they were content to suspend their revenge towards them, that they might with less controle exercise their Tyranny over the poor broken Cavaliers. So they made a present Order, "To banish all "who had ever manifested any Affection to the King, or his "Father, twenty Miles from *London*; and revived all those Orders, they had formerly made, and which *Cromwell* had abolish'd or forborne to execute; by which many Persons were committed to Prisons for offences they thought had been forgotten. And the consequence of these proceedings awaken'd those of another Classis, to apprehensions of what They might be made liable to. The Soldiers were very merry at their new General; and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next Adventure; and the Officers thought they had deserv'd more than an Act of Indemnity, for restoring them to such a Soveraignty. In a word, as the Parliament remember'd how They had been used, so all other People remember'd how they had used them, and could not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemn'd.

They banish all Cavaliers 20 miles from London.

THIS universal temper raised the Spirits again of the King's Friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore serv'd the Parliament, and been afterwards disobliged both by *Cromwell*, and the Rump Parliament, very desirous to enter into Amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the King's Reestablishment. Those Members of the long Parliament, who, after the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, were by violence kept from the House, took it in great indignation, that They, upon whom the said violence was practiced afterwards, which they had first countenanced upon them, should not restore them being now restored themselves, and were ready to embrace any occasion to disturb their new Governours; to which they were the more encouraged by the common discourse of the Soldiers; who declared, "That, "if there were any commotion in the Kingdom, they would "go no farther to suppress it, than *Lenthal* should lead them.

The King's Party begins to move.

Mr MORDAUNT, who had so lately his head upon the Block, was more active than any Man; and was so well trusted by Men of all conditions, upon the Courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good Men in most Quarters of the Kingdom, "That if "the King would assign them a day, and promise to come to "them after they were imbodyed, they would not fail to ap- "pear at the day. Whereupon, Mr *Mordaunt* ventur'd him- self to come in disguise to the King to *Brussels*, to give him a clear Account how his business stood, and what probability there

Mr Mordaunt *comes to Brussels to acquaint the King with the preparations.*

there was of succeſs, and likewiſe to complain of the want of forwardneſs in ſome of thoſe upon whom the King moſt relied, to encourage other Men, and to deſire that his Majeſty would, by Him, require them to concur with the reſt. It appear'd, by the Account he gave, that there were very few Counties in *England*, where there was not a form'd Undertaking by the moſt powerful Men of that County, to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome conſiderable place in it; and if any of them ſucceeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the King to venture his own Perſon, than he yet had Had, or than he was like to have, if he ſuffer'd thoſe who were now in the Government, to be ſettled in it.

A deſign of ſurpriſing Lynne *by the Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham *and Sr* Horatio Townſend.

THAT which was beſt digeſted, and, in reſpect of the Undertakers, moſt like to ſucceed, was the firſt ſurpriſal and poſſeſſing of *Lynne*, a Maritime Town, of great importance in reſpect of the Situation, and likewiſe of the good Affection of the Gentlemen of the Parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, with the conſent and Approbation of Sr *Horatio Townſend*: who, being a Gentleman of the greateſt Intereſt, and Credit, in that large County of *Norfolk*, was able to bring in a good Body of Men to poſſeſs it. The former had ſerv'd the Parliament, and was in great credit with the Presbyterians, and ſo leſs liable to ſuſpicion; the latter had been under Age till long after the end of the War, and ſo liable to no reproach or jealouſy, yet of very worthy Principles, and of a noble Fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow Money; and laid it out to provide Arms and Ammunition; and all the King's Friends in thoſe parts, were ready to obey thoſe Perſons in whatſoever they undertook.

And a deſign upon Gloceſter *by* Maſſey.

ANOTHER Deſign, which was look'd upon as ripe too, was the ſurpriſal of *Gloceſter*, a Town very advantageouſly Situated upon the River of *Severn*, that would have great influence upon *Briſtol*, and *Worceſter*; both which, Perſons of the beſt Intereſt undertook to ſecure, aſſoon as *Gloceſter* ſhould be poſſeſſed; which Major General *Maſſey*, who had been formerly Governour thereof, and defended it too well againſt the King, made no queſtion he ſhould be able to do, having been in the Town *incognito*, and conferr'd with his Friends there and lain conceal'd in the adjacent places, till the day ſhould be appointed for the Execution of it; of all which he ſent the King an Account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no Garriſon in either of the places.

The Gentlemen of Shropſhire *ready.*

THE Lord *Newport*, *Littleton* and other Gentlemen of *Shropſhire*, were ready at the ſame time to ſecure *Shrewsbury*; and for the making that Communication perfect, Sr *George Booth*,

Booth, a Person of one of the best Fortunes and Interest in *Cheshire*, and for the Memory of his Grandfather, of absolute power with the Presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the City and Castle of *Chester*. And Sr *Thomas Middleton*, who had likewise serv'd the Parliament, and was one of the best Fortune and Interest in North *Wales*, was ready to joyn with Sr *George Booth*; and both of them to unite entirely with the King's Party in those Counties. In the West, *Arundel*, *Pollard*, *Greenvil*, *Trelawny* and the rest of the King's Friends in *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, hoped to possess *Plymouth*, but were sure of *Exeter*. Other Undertakings there were in the North, by Men very ready to venture all they had.

Sr G. Booth undertakes Chester.

Sr Thomas Middleton *to joyn with him.*

In the west, designs upon Plymouth *and* Exeter.

When the King receiv'd this Account in gross from a Person so well instructed, whereof he had by retail receiv'd much from the Persons concern'd (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present Government, that Messengers went forward and backward with all security) and likewise found by Mr *Mordaunt*, that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution was general, "That, though any discovery should be made, and "any Persons impriſon'd, the rest would proceed assoon as the "day should be appointed by the King; his Majesty resolv'd that he would adventure his own Person, and would be ready *incognito* at *Calais* upon such a day of the Month; and that his Brother the Duke of *York* should be likewise there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the Intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

There happen'd at this time the discovery of a vile Treachery which had done the King's Affairs much harm; and had it been longer concealed, would have done much more. From the death of *Oliver*, some of those who were in the secretest part of his Affairs, discern'd evidently, that their new Protector would never be able to bear the burden; and so thought how they might do such service to the King, as might merit from him. One who had a part in the Office of Secrecy, Mr. *Moreland*, sent an Express to the King, to inform him of many particulars of Moment, and to give him some advices, what his Majesty was to do; which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what Persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other Persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He made offer of his Service to his Majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and, as an instance of his fidelity, and his usefulness, he advertised the King

A discovery of the Treachery of Sr Richard Willis.

King of a Person who was much trusted by his Majesty, and constantly betrayed him; "That he had receiv'd a large Pen-"sion from *Cromwell*, and that he continually gave *Thurlow* "Intelligence of all that he knew; but it was with so great "circumspection, that he was never seen in his presence: that "in his Contract, he had promised to make such discoveries, "as should prevent any danger to the State; but that he would "never endanger any Man's life, nor be produced to give in "Evidence against any: and that this very Person had disco-"ver'd the Marquis of *Ormond*'s being in *London* the last year, "to *Cromwell*; but could not be induced to discover where "his Lodging was; only undertook his Journey should be in-"effectual, and that he should quickly return; and then they "might take him if they could; to which he would not con-"tribute. To conclude, his Majesty was desired to trust this Man no more, and to give his Friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The King at first believes it not.

THE King, and They who were most trusted by him in his secret Transactions, believ'd not this information; but concluded that it was contriv'd to amuse him, and to distract all his Affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. The Gentleman accused, was Sr *Richard Willis*: who had from the beginning to the end of the War, except at *Newark*, given testimony of his Duty and Allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptations of infidelity. He was a Gentleman, and was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good Officer, and in truth of so general a good Reputation, that, if the King had professed to have any doubt of his honesty, his Friends would have thought he had receiv'd ill infusions without any ground; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the Marquis of *Ormond*, who had Communicated more with him, than with any Man in *England*, during his being there. On the other side, all the other informations, and advices, that were sent by the Person who accused him, were very important, and could have no end but his Majesty's Service; and the Offices that Gentleman offer'd to perform for the future, were of that consequence, that they could not be overvalued. This Intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting Money; for the present condition of him who sent it, was so good, that he expected no reward, till the King should be enabled to give it; and he who was sent in the Errand, was likewise a Gentleman, who did not look for the Charges of his Journey: and how could it have been known to *Cromwell*, that That Person had been trusted by the Marquis of *Ormond*, if he had not discover'd it himself?

The Character of the Person accused.

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In this perplexity, his Majesty would not presently depart from his confidence in the Gentleman accused. As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had receiv'd; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a Case; only frankly declared, "That nothing could convince him of "the infidelity of that Gentleman, or make him withdraw his "trust from him, but the Evidence of his hand-writing; which "was well known. This Messenger no sooner return'd to *London*, but another was dispatch'd with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before inform'd, that there remain'd no more room to doubt. A great number of his Letters were sent, whereof the Character was well known; and the Intelligence communicated, was of such things as were known to very few besides that Person himself.

The accused clearly proves the thing by Letters, &c.

One thing was observ'd throughout the whole, that he seldom communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any man who was of the King's Party, and had been always so reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the Presbyterian Party, or by any who had been against the King, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of *Massey's* design upon *Glocester*, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the King's Party, it was chiefly of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and resolv'd to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprison'd in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy, or treachery in the King's Councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the Person of the King.

It was a new perplexity to the King, that he knew not by what means to Communicate this Treachery to his Friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a Person of merit, and disappoint his Majesty of that Service, which must be of great moment. In this conjuncture, Mr *Mordaunt* came to *Brussels*, and inform'd his Majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his Friends were in, which are mention'd before; and amongst the other Orders he desired, one was, that some Message might be sent to that knot of Men (whereof the accused Person was one) "Who, he said, were principally trusted by his Majesty, and "were all Men of honour, but so wary and incredulous, that "others were more discouraged by their coldness; and therefore wished, "That they might be quicken'd, and required to "concur with the most forward. Hereupon the King asked him, what he thought of such a one, naming Sr *Richard Willis*: Mr *Mordaunt* answer'd "It was of Him they complain'd

"principally; who, they thought, was the cause of all the "wariness in the rest; who looked upon him not only as an "excellent Officer, but as a prudent and discreet Man; and "therefore, for the most part, all debates were referr'd to him; "and he was so much given to objections, and to raising dif- "ficulties, and making things unpracticable, that most Men "had an unwillingness to make any proposition to him. The King asked him, "Whether he had any suspicion of his want "of honesty? the other answer'd, "That he was so far from "any such suspicion, that, though he did not take him to be his "Friend, by reason of the many disputes and contradictions "frequently between them, he would put his Life into his hand "to morrow.

The King communicates the discovery to Mr Mordaunt.

It was not thought reasonable, that Mr *Mordaunt* should return into *England* with a confidence in this Man; and therefore his Majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it, or that he had his very Letters in his own hand, which would quickly have discover'd how he came by them; and the King charged him "No farther to Com- "municate with that Person, and to give his Friends such "caution, as might not give a greater disturbance to his Af- "fairs, by raising new Factions amongst them, or provoke "him to do more mischief, which it was in his power to "do. But for all this there was another Expedient found; for by the time Mr *Mordaunt* return'd to *London*, the Person who gave the King the Advertisement, out of his own wisdom, and knowledge of the ill consequence of that trust, caused Papers to be posted up in several places, by which all Persons were warned not to look upon Sr *Richard Willis* as faithful to the King, but as one who betray'd all that he was trusted with; which in the general had some effect, though many worthy Men still continued that intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be resolv'd.

The Discoverer publishes Papers to forwarn the King's Friends of this Person.

It was towards the end of *June* that Mr *Mordaunt* left *Brussels*, with a resolution that there should be a general Rendezvous throughout *England* of all who would declare for the King, upon a day named, about the middle of *July*; where being Commissions in every County directed to six or seven known Men, with Authority to them to choose one to Command in Chief in that County, till they should make a conjunction with other Forces, who had superior Commission from the King. And those Commissioners had in their hands plenty of Commissions under the King's hand, for Regiments and Governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to receive them; which was the best Model (how liable soever to exception) that, in so distracted a State of Affairs, could be advised.

The

THE King, as is said, resolv'd at the day appointed to be at *Calais*; which resolution was kept with so great a secrecy at *Brussels*, that his Majesty had left the Town before it was suspected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in *France*, as in *England*. Therefore, as the King went out in the Morning, so the Duke of *York* went out in the Afternoon, another way: his Highness's motion being without any suspicion, or notice, by reason of his Command in the Army. The King went attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Bristol* (who was the Guide, being well acquainted with the Frontiers on both sides) and two or three Servants, all *incognito*, and as Companions; and so they found their way to *Calais*; where they staid. The Duke of *York*, with four or five of his own menial Servants, and the Lord *Langdale*, who desired to attend his Highness, went to *Boulogne*; where he remain'd with equal privacy; and they corresponded with each other.

The King goes to Calais.

The Duke of York to Boulogne.

THE Affairs in *England* had no prosperous aspect; every Post brought news of many Persons of Honour and Quality committed to several Prisons, throughout the Kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day it self was accompanied with very unusual Weather at that Season of the Year, being the middle of *July*. The Night before, there had been an excessive Rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high Wind, that the Winter had seldom so great a Storm: so that the Persons over *England*, who were drawing to their appointed Rendezvous, were much dismayed, and met with many cross Accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else; others went where they should be, and were weary of expecting those who should have been there too.

The Disappointment of all the designs in England.

IN the beginning of the Night when *Massey* was going for *Glocester*, a Troop of the Army beset the House where he was, and took him Prisoner; and putting him before one of the Troopers well guarded, they made haste to carry him to a place where he might be secure. But that tempestuous Night had so much of good fortune in it to him, that in the darkest part of it, the Troop marching down a very steep Hill, with Woods on both sides, he either by his Activity, or the connivance of the Soldier, who was upon the same Horse with him, found means, that in the steepest of the descent, they both fell from the Horse, and he disintangled himself from the embraces of the other, and being strong and nimble, got into the Woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

Massey seised on; but escapes.

OF all the Enterprises for the seising upon strong places,

Sr G. Booth seised Chester; and Sr Tho. Middleton joyns with him.

only one succeeded; which was that undertaken by Sr *George Booth*; all the rest failed. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parrham*, and Sr *Horatio Townsend*, and most of their Friends, were apprehended before the day, and made Prisoners, most of them upon general suspicions, as Men able to do hurt. Only Sr *George Booth*, being a Person of the best Quality and fortune of that County, of those who had never been of the King's party, came into *Chester*, with such Persons as he thought fit to take with him, the Night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the Night, and the next Morning, had the same effect, as in other places, to break or disorder the Rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that City, yet Sr *George* being himself there with a good Troop of Horse he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into *Chester*, where his Party was strong enough: and Sr *Thomas Middleton*, having kept his Rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their Devotion, and to suppress all there who had inclination to oppose them.

Their Declaration.

THEN they published their Declaration, rather against those who call'd themselves the Parliament, and usurped the Government by the power of the Army, than owning directly the King's Interest. They said, "That since God had "suffer'd the Spirit of division to continue in this Nation, "which was left without any settled foundation of Religion, "Liberty, and Property, the Legislative Power usurped at "pleasure, the Army raised for it's defence misled by their su- "periour Officers, and no face of Government remaining, "that was lawfully constituted; therefore, They, being sensi- "ble of their duty, and utter ruin, if these distractions should "continue, had taken Arms in vindication of the freedom of "Parliaments, of the known Laws, Liberty, and Property, "and of the good People of this Nation groaning under insup- "portable Taxes: that they cannot despair of the blessing of "God, nor of the chearful concurrence of all good People, "and of the undeceiv'd part of the Army; whose Arrears "and future advancement they would procure, suffering no "imposition or force on any Mans Conscience. But though they mention'd nothing of his Majesty in express terms, they gave all countenance, and reception, and all imaginable assurance to the King's Party; who had directions from the King to concur, and to unite themselves to them.

WHAT disappointments soever there were in other places the fame of this Action of these two Gentlemen, raised the Spirits of all Men. They who were at liberty, renew'd their former designs; and they who could not promise themselves places

places of refuge, prepared themſelves to march to *Cheſter*, if Sr *George Booth* did not draw nearer with his Army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made, had been obſerv'd. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of Perſons Impriſon'd, upon whoſe aſſiſtance he moſt depended, he was in great apprehenſion that he had begun the Work too ſoon; and though his Numbers increaſed every day, he thought it beſt to keep the Poſt he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elſewhere.

THIS fire was kindled in a place which the Parliament leaſt ſuſpected; and therefore they were the more alarm'd at the News of it; and knew it would ſpread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too ſoon uſe of their Army, in which they had not Confidence. There were many Officers whom they had much rather truſt than *Lambert*; but there was none they thought could do their buſineſs ſo well: So they made choice of Him to march with ſuch Troops as he liked, and with the greateſt Expedition, to ſuppreſs this new Rebellion, which they ſaw had many Friends. They had formerly ſent for two Regiments out of *Ireland*, which, they knew, were devoted to the Republicam Intereſt, and thoſe they appointed *Lambert* to joyn with. He undertook the Charge very willingly, being deſirous to renew his Credit with the Soldiers, who had loved to be under his Command, becauſe, though he was ſtrict in diſcipline, he provided well for them, and was himſelf eſteem'd brave upon any Action. He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he reſolv'd ſhould be very ſwift, to prevent the increaſe of the Enemy in Numbers. And he did make incredible haſte; ſo that Sr *George Booth* found he was leſs than a days march, before he thought he could have been half the way. Sr *George* himſelf had not been acquainted with the War, and the Officers who were with him, were not of one mind or humour; yet all were deſirous to Fight (the natural infirmity of the Nation, which could never endure the view of an Enemy without engaging in a Battle) and inſtead of retiring into the Town, which they might have defended againſt a much greater Army than *Lambert* had with him, longer than he could ſtay before it, they marched to meet him; and were, after a ſhort Encounter, Routed by him, and totally broken: ſo that, the next day, the Gates of *Cheſter* were open'd to *Lambert*; Sr *George Booth* himſelf making his flight in a diſguiſe; but he was taken upon the way, and ſent Priſoner to the Tower.

The Parliament ſends Lambert againſt them.

Who Routs Sr G. Booth and takes Cheſter.

LAMBERT proſecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North *Wales*, whither Sr *Thomas Middleton* was

retired with his Troops to a ſtrong Caſtle of his own; and he thought neither the Man, nor the Place, were to be left behind him. It was to no purpoſe for one Man to oppoſe the whole Kingdom, where all other Perſons appeared ſubdued. And therefore, after a day or two making ſhew of reſiſtance, *Mideleton* accepted ſuch Conditions as he could obtain, and ſuffer'd his goodly Houſe, for the ſtrength of the Situation, to be pulled down.

Sr Thomas Middleton delivers up his Caſtle.

THIS Succeſs put an end to all endeavours of force in *England*; and the Army had nothing to do but to make all Perſons Priſoners whoſe looks they did not like; ſo that all Priſons in *England* were fill'd; whilſt the Parliament, exalted with their Conqueſt, conſulted what Perſons they would Execute, and how they ſhould Confiſcate the reſt; by means whereof, they made no doubt they ſhould deſtroy all Seeds of future Inſurrections on the behalf of the King, many of the Nobility being at preſent in Cuſtody. And they reſolv'd, if other Evidence was wanting, that the very ſuſpecting them ſhould be ſufficient reaſon to continue them there.

WHEN the King came to *Calais*, where he receiv'd Accounts every day from *England* of what was Tranſacted there, as he was much troubled with the News he receiv'd daily of the Impriſonment of his Friends, ſo he was revived with the Fame of Sr *George Booth*'s being poſſeſſed of *Cheſter*, and of the Conjunction between him and *Middleton*. They were reported to be in a much better poſture than in truth they were; and the expectation of ſome appearance of Troops in *Lincoln-ſhire*, and *York-ſhire*, and ſome other Counties, ſtood fair; whereupon the King reſolv'd to go himſelf to ſome other part of *France*, from whence he might ſecurely Tranſport himſelf into thoſe parts of *England*, where, with leaſt hazard, he might joyn himſelf with the Troops which were in Arms for him, and ſo went to the Coaſt of *Bretagne*.

The King removes to the Coaſt of Bretagne.

THE Duke of *York* remain'd at *Boulogne*, to expect ſome appearance of Arms in *Kent*, and *Eſſex*; which was ſtill promiſed, aſſoon as the Army ſhould be drawn farther from *London*. In this expectation, his Royal Highneſs found an opportunity to confer with his old Friend Marſhal *Turenne*; who very frankly aſſign'd him ſome Troops; and likewiſe provided Veſſels to Tranſport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an Engagement in any probable Enterpriſe; and this with ſo much Generoſity and Secrecy, that the Cardinal, who was then upon the Borders of *Spain*, ſhould have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleaſed God, that, whilſt his Highneſs was providing for his longed for Expedition, and when the King, after his viſiting St *Maloes*, was at *Rochel*, in hope to find

The Duke of York confers with Monſieur Turenne; who offers aſſiſtance.

find a conveniency for his Transportation, the fatal News arriv'd in all parts of the defeat of Sr *George Booth*, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the Parliament; which seem'd now to be in as absolute possession of the Government of the three Nations, as ever *Cromwell* had been. *The King receives News of Sir G. Booth's defeat.*

STRUCK with this dismal relation, the King and his Brother seem'd to have nothing else to do, but to make what haste they could out of *France*; where it was thought they could not now be found with safety. The Duke of *York* return'd speedily to *Brussels*; but the King, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his Condition, resum'd a resolution he had formerly taken, to make a Journey himself to the Borders of *Spain*, to sollicite more powerful Supplies; the two chief Ministers of the two Crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his Majesty preferr'd any peregrination before the neglect he was sure to find at *Brussels*, and the dry looks of the *Spaniards* there; who were broken into so many Factions amongst themselves, that the Government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the Marquis of *Carracena*, and *Don Alonzo*, had such an influence upon the Counsels at *Madrid*, that *Don Juan* receiv'd Orders without delay to return to *Spain*, and to leave the Government in the hands of the Marquis of *Carracena*; which *Don Juan* very willingly obey'd; and assoon as he could obtain a Pass to go through *France*, he left those Provinces, and made his Journey through that Kingdom towards *Madrid*. He was a Person of a small Stature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his Parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been restrain'd by his Education, and accustom'd to the pride and forms of a *Spanish* breeding, which likewise dispos'd him to lazines and taking his pleasure, he was capable of any great Employment, and would have discharged it well.

The Duke returns to Brussels. *The King resolves to be at the meeting of the two Favourites of the two Crowns.* Don Juan *recall'd to* Spain.

I SAID before, the Chief Ministers of the two Crowns were now met on the Borders of the two Kingdoms. For, this year, some thing had happen'd abroad, that, as it was new, might seem to administer new hopes to raise the King's Spirits; however it was a subject for Men to exercise their thoughts on with variety of conjectures. The War had now continued between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal, and reproach of Christianity, and in spight of all the interposition and mediation of most of the Princes of *Europe*; a War wantonly enter'd into, without the least pretence of Right and Justice, to comply with the Pride and Humour of the two Favourites of the Crowns (besides the natural Animosity, which will al-

ways be between the two Nations) who would try the Mastery of their Wit and Invention, at the charge of their Master's Treasure, and the blood of their Subjects, against all the obligations of Leagues and Alliances; a War prosecuted only for War's sake, with all the circumstances of Fire, Sword, and Rapine, to the consumption of Millions of Treasure, and Millions of Lives of noble, worthy, and honest Men, only to improve the skill, and mystery, and science of destruction. All which appear'd the more unnatural and the more monstrous, that this seem'd to be effected, and carried on by the power of a Brother and Sister against each other (for half the time had been spent in the Regency of the Queen of *France*) when they both lov'd, and tender'd each others good, and happiness, as the best Brother and Sister ought to do.

The Queen Mother of France designs to put an end to the War between the two Crowns by a Treaty and Marriage. She advises the Cardinal to concur in it.

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous cruel War, which the Queen Mother had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of Age, and the young King being of years ripe to Marry, and the Infanta of *Spain* being in that, and all other respects, the most competent Match for him, which would be the best, and was the only Expedient to procure a Peace, her Majesty resolv'd to imploy all her Interest and Authority, to bring it to pass, and knowing well, all Her desires could produce no effect, if she had not the full concurrence of the Cardinal, she proposed it to him with all the warmth, and all the concernment such a Subject required; conjuring him "By all the good Offices she had "perform'd towards him, that he would, not only con-"sent to it, but take it to heart, and put it into such a way "of Negotiation, that it might arrive at the Issue she de-"sired.

His arguments against it.

The Cardinal used all the Arguments he could, to dissuade her Majesty from desiring it at this time; "That it would not "be for her Majesty's Service; nor was he able to bear the "reproach, of being the Instrument of making a Peace, at a "time when *Spain* was reduced to those streights, that it "could no longer resist the Victorious Arms of *France*; that "they could not fail the next Summer of being possessed of "*Brussels* it self, and then they should not be long without "the rest of the *Spanish* Netherlands; and therefore, at this "time, to propose a Peace, which must disappoint them of so "sure a Conquest, would not only be very ingrateful to the "Army, but incense all good *French*-men against him, and "against her Majesty her self.

The Queen was not diverted from her purpose by those Arguments; but proposed it to the King, and prosecuted it with the Cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate Friends,

Friends, he was neceſſitated either to conſent to it, or to have an irreconcilable breach with her Majeſty; which his gratitude would not ſuffer him to chooſe; and thereupon He yielded; and *Don Antonio Pimentel* from *Madrid*, and *Monſieur de Lyonne* from *France*, ſo Negotiated this laſt Winter in both Courts, both, *incognito*, making ſeveral Journies backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the Winter, it was publiſhed, there would be a Treaty between the two Crowns, and that in the beginning of the Summer of this year 1659, the two Favourites, Cardinal *Mazarin*, and *Don Lewis de Haro* would meet, and make a Treaty both for the Peace, and the Marriage.

But at laſt He yields to her purpoſe. The Treaty is tranſacted inconnito at Paris and Madrid.

THE Cardinal was the ſooner induced to this Peace by the unſettled Condition of *England*. The death of *Cromwell*, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the Succeſſion of *Richard*, under the advice of the ſame Perſons who were truſted by his Father, pleaſed him well. But then the throwing Him out with ſuch circumſtances, broke all his Meaſures. He could not forget that the Parliament, that now govern'd, were the very ſame Men who had eluded all his Application, appear'd ever more inclined to the *Spaniſh* Side, and had, without any colour of provocation, and when he believ'd they ſtood fair towards *France*, taken the *French* Fleet, when it could not but have Reliev'd *Dunkirk*; by which that Town was deliver'd up to the *Spaniard*. He knew well, that *Spain* did, at that inſtant, uſe all the underhand means they could to make a Peace with them; and he did not believe, that the Parliament would affect the continuance of that War, at ſo vaſt a Charge both at Sea and Land; but that they would rather foment the Diviſions in *France*, and endeavour to unite the Prince of *Condè* and the Hugonots; which would make a concuſſion in that Kingdom; and he ſhould then have cauſe to repent the having put *Dunkirk* into the hands of the *Engliſh*. Theſe reflections diſturbed him, and diſpoſed him at laſt to believe, that over and above the benefit of gratifying the Queen, he ſhould beſt provide for the ſecurity of *France*, and of Himſelf, by making a Peace with *Spain*.

The reaſons that moved the Cardinal to yield to this Peace.

HOWEVER, he was not ſo ſure of bringing it to paſs, as to provoke, or neglect *England*. Therefore he renew'd all the promiſes, he had formerly made to *Oliver*, again to *Lockhart* (who was the Embaſſadour now of the Republick) "That he would never make a Peace without the conſent, and "incluſion of *England*; and very earneſtly deſired him, and writ to that purpoſe to the Parliament, that he might be at the Treaty with him, that ſo they might ſtill conſult what would be beſt for their joynt Intereſt, from which he would never

His promiſes to Lockhart *touching his adhering to the Parliament.*

never separate; insinuating to him, in broken and half Sentences, "That though the Treaty was necessary to satisfy the "Queen, there were so many difficulties in view, that he had "little hope of a Peace: and, in truth, many sober Men did not believe the Treaty would ever produce a Peace: for, besides the great Advantages which *France* had gotten, and that it could not be imagined, that *Spain* would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the *French*, which they had then in their hands by Conquest (the usual Effect of Peace being a restitution of all places taken in the War; which *France* would never permit) there were two particulars which it was hard to find any Expedient to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by *de Lyonne and Pimentel*, were entirely reserv'd for the Treaty of the two Favourites; both Sides having with great obstinacy, protested against the departing from the resolution they had taken.

Two particulars of difficulty in the Treaty refer'd to the personal conference between the Favourites.

The first, the business of Portugal.

THE two particulars were those concerning *Portugal*, and the Prince of *Condè*. There could not be a greater Engagement, than *France* had made to *Portugal*, never to desert it, nor to make a Peace without providing that the King should quietly enjoy his Government to him and his Posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the Yoke of *Spain*. And *Spain* was principally induced to buy a Peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of *Portugal*; which they always reckon'd they should be able to do within one year, if they had no other Enemy upon them; and they would never value any Peace, if That were not entirely left to them, and disclaimed by *France*.

The second, that of the Prince of Condè.

ON the other hand, the Prince of *Condè* had the King of *Spain*'s word and obligation, by the most solemn Treaty that could be enter'd into, that he would never conclude a Peace without including Him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full restitution to their Honours, Offices, and Estates, but with some farther recompence for the great Service he had done; which was very great indeed: and no body believed, that the Cardinal would ever consent to the Restoration of that Prince, who had wrought him so many calamities, and brought him to the brink of destruction. With these ill presages, great preparations was made for this Treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when, and where the two great Favourites should meet. *Fuentarabia*, a place in the *Spanish* Dominions, very near the Borders of *France*, the same place where *Francis* the First was deliver'd, after his long Imprisonment in *Spain*, was agreed upon for their Interview; a little River near that place parting both the Kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it, brought the two Favourites

Fuentarabia the place of Inteview.

to

to meet, without either of their going out of his Master's Dominions.

THE fame of this Treaty, assoon as it was agreed to, had yielded variety, and new matter to the King to consider. Both Crowns had made the contention and War that was between them, the only ground and reason, why they did not give him that Assistance, which in a case so near relating to themselves, he might well expect; and both had made many professions, that, when it should please God to release them from the War, they would manifest to the World, that they took the King's case to be their own: so that his Majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this Peace, and the World could not but expect, that he would have some Embassadour present to sollicite on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit Person, and so many greater to defray the expence of an Embassadour that his Majesty had at first resolv'd to find himself present in that Treaty; which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirm'd in it by a Letter from Sr *Harry Bennet*; by which he was inform'd, "That he speaking with "*Don Lewis* about his Journey to *Fuentarabia*, and asking "him whither he would give him leave to wait on him thi- "ther, *Don Lewis* answer'd, that he should do well to be pre- "sent; and then asked him, why the King himself would not "be there; and two or three days after, he told him, that if "the King, with a very light Train, came *incognito* thither, "for the place could not permit them to receive him in State, "after the great difficulties of the Treaty were over, he would "do all he could to induce the Cardinal to concur in what "might be of convenience to his Majesty. The King had before resolv'd to have a very little Train with him, suitable to the Treasure he had to defray his Expences, and to make his whole Journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to *France*, through which he was necessarily to make his Journey. How much *incognito* soever he meant to travail, it might be necessary against any accident to have a Pass; yet to ask one, and be refused, would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the Nature of the Cardinal, than from the sincerity of *Don Lewis de Haro*, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that more depending upon *Spain* might not irreconcile *France*.

The King resolves to be present at it.

TO extricate himself out of these perplexities, his Majesty had written to the Queen his Mother, to intreat her, "As of "her

"her self, to desire the Cardinal's advice; whether it would "not be fit for the King to be present at the Treaty; that "she might send his Majesty such counsel as was proper: if "he thought well of it, she might then propose such Passes, as "should seem reasonable to her. Her Majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the Question of the Cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, "That it was "by no means fit; and that it would do the King much harm; and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wish'd the Queen "To let the King know, that he should rely upon him to take "care of what concern'd him; which he would not fail to do, "assoon as he discern'd that the Treaty would produce a Peace. "Her Majesty acquiesced with this profession, and sent the "King word, how kind the Cardinal was to him; but would by no means that his Majesty should think of undertaking such a Journey himself; nor did the Queen imagine that the King would ever think of it without a Pass, and the Cardinal's approbation.

Cardinal Mazarin advises against it.

When his Majesty had receiv'd this Account from his Mother, he saw it was to no purpose to think of a Pass. And thus far, in the beginning of this last Spring, before any design of rising in *England* was ripened, his Majesty had proceeded in his intention of being personally present at the Conference between the two great Ministers. But now, when all his expectations from *England* for this year were defeated, and when he himself was already advanced far into *France*, he thought it more necessary than ever to take up his former resolution. Being therefore by this time fully advertised, that the Favourites had been met a considerable time, and were enter'd so far into the Treaty, in the very entrance of which they had agreed to a Cessation of Arms, his Majesty attended by the same Company he had then with him, the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Daniel O Neile*, and two or three other Servants, together with the Earl of *Bristol* (though Sir *Harry Bennet* had before informed the King, that *Don Lewis de Haro* had particularly desired he would not bring that Earl with him; whose Company yet, in respect of his Language, the King believ'd would be very convenient to him) his Majesty, I say, with this Attendance, began his Journey from that part of *Bretagne* where he then was still *incognito*. He had indeed now more reason ever to conceal himself in his Journey, and really to apprehend being stopp'd if he were discover'd; and therefore was not to go about by *Paris*, or any of those Roads where he had been heretofore known; yet he allowed himself the more time, that he might in his Compass see those parts of *France* where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure, and divertisement, that such a Journey would admit of.

The King begins his journey thither with the Marquis of Ormond, and the Earl of Bristol.

of. To that purpose he appointed the Earl of *Bristol* to be the Guide; who knew most of *France*, at least more than any body else did; and who always delighted to go out of the way; and *Daniel O Niele* to take care that they always fared well in their Lodgings; for which Province no Man was fitter. Thus they wheeled about by *Lyons* into *Languedoc*, and were so well pleased with the varieties in the Journey, that they not enough remember'd the end of it, taking their information of the Progress in the Treaty from the Intelligence they met with in the way.

He goes by Lyons into Languedoc; and so onward.

When they came near *Toulouse*, they found that the *French* Court was there, which they purposely design'd to decline. However the King, going himself a nearer way, sent the Marquis of *Ormond* thither, to inform himself of the true State of the Treaty, and to meet his Majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to *Fuentarabia*. The Marquis went alone without a Servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to *Toulouse*, he was inform'd from the common discourse of the Court, that the Treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the Cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

An account of the close of that Treaty in respect of the difficulties concerning Portugal and the Prince of Condè

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less time than was conceiv'd possible, both Parties equally desiring the Marriage, which could never be without the Peace. The Cardinal, who had much the advantage over *Don Lewis* in all the Faculites necessary for a Treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in observing what he promised, had used all the Arts imaginable to induce *Don Lewis* to yield both in the point of *Portugal*, and what related to the Prince of *Condè*, and his Party. He enlarged upon "The desperate estate in "which *Flanders* was; and that they could possess themselves "entirely of it in one Campagne; and therefore it might easi-"ly be concluded, that nothing but the Queen's absolute Au-"thority, could in such a conjuncture have disposed the King "to a Treaty; and, he hoped, that she should not be so ill "requited, as to be obliged to break the Treaty, or to oblige "the King her Son to consent to what was indispensably against "his Honour: that if he should recede from the Interest of "*Portugal*, no Prince or State would hereafter enter into Al-"liance with him: that though they were bound to insist to "have *Portugal* included in the Peace, yet he would be con-"tented that a long Truce might be made, and all Acts of Ho-"stility forborne for a good Number of years, which, he said, "was necessary for *Spain*, that they might recover the fatigue "of the long War they had sustain'd, before they enter'd "into a New One: if they would not consent to that, then "that *Portugal* should be left out of the Peace, and *Spain* at "liberty

"liberty to proſecute the War, and *France* at the ſame time "to aſſiſt *Portugal*; which, he ſaid, in reſpect of the diſtance, "they ſhould never be able to adminiſter in ſuch a proportion "as would be able to preſerve it from their Conqueſt; not "without iuſinuation, that ſo they might not renounce the "promiſe they had made, they would not be over ſollicitous "to perform it. As to the Prince of *Condè*, that the Catho- "lick King was now to look upon *France* as the Dominion "of his Son in Law, and to be inherited by his Grandſon, and "therefore he would conſider what peril it might bring to "both, if the Prince of *Condè* were reſtored to his greatneſs "in that Kingdom, who only could diſturb the Peace of it, "and whoſe Ambition was ſo reſtleſs, that they could no "longer enjoy Peace, than whilſt he was not in a condition "to interrupt it. The Cardinal told him, in confidence, of ſeveral Indignities offer'd by the Prince of *Condè*, to the Per- ſon of the Queen, of which her Brother ought to be very ſenſible, and which would abſolve him from any Engagement he had enter'd into with that Prince; which he would never have done, if his Majeſty had been fully inform'd of thoſe rude Tranſgreſſions. And therefore he beſought *Don Lewis*, "That the joy and triumph, which the King and the Queen "would be poſſeſſed of by this Peace and Marriage, might not "be clouded, and even render'd diſconſolate, by their being "bound to behold a Man in their preſence, who had ſo often, "and with ſo much damage, and diſdain, affronted them "both; but that the Peace of *France* might be ſecured by "that Prince's being for ever reſtrain'd from living in it; "which being provided for, whatſoever his Catholick Ma- "jeſty ſhould require in ready Money, or Penſions, to enable "the Prince to live in his juſt ſplendour abroad, ſhould be "conſented to.

Don *Lewis de Haro* was a man of great Temper, of a ſal- low Complexion, Hypocondriac, and never weary of hear- ing; thought well of what he was to ſay; what he wanted in acuteneſs he made up in warineſs, and though he might omit the ſaying ſomewhat he had a good occaſion to ſay, he never ſaid any thing of which he had occaſion to re- pent. He had a good judgment and underſtanding, and as he was without any talent or Rhetorick, ſo he was very well able to defend himſelf from it. He told the Cardinal, "That "he knew well his Maſter's Affairs needed a Peace with "*France*; and that the accompliſhing this Marriage, was the "only way to attain it; that the Marriage was the beſt, and "the moſt honourable in Chriſtendom and ought to be equally "deſired on both ſides; and that his Catholick Majeſty was ſen- "ſible of his own Age, and the infirmites which attended it;

"and

"and desired nothing more than that, before his death, he "might see this Peace and this Marriage finished, and made "perfect; and that he was well content to purchase the for- "mer at any price, but of his Honour; which was the only "thing he preferr'd even before Peace: that for *Porgugal*, "the groundless Rebellion there was so well known to all the "World, that he should not go to his grave in Peace, if he "should do any thing which might look like a countenance, "or concession to that Title, that was only founded upon "Treason and Rebellion; or if he should omit the doing any "thing that might, with God's Blessing, of which he could "not doubt, reduce that Kingdom to their Duty, and his obe- "dience: that his resolution was, assoon as this Peace should "be concluded, to apply all the Force and all the Treasure "of his Dominions, to the Invasion of *Portugal*; which, he "hoped, would be sufficient speedily to subdue it; and was "a great part of the fruit he promised himself from this Peace; "and therefore he would never permit any thing to be con- "cluded in it, that might leave *France* at liberty to assist that "War: that the Catholick King had done all he could, both "by *Don Antonio Pimentel* and *Monsieur de Lyonne*, that his "most Christian Majesty might know his unalterable resolu- "tion in the point of *Portugal*, and with reference to the "Prince of *Condè*, before He consented to Treat; and that he "would never depart from what he had declared in either; "that He made a Treaty with the Prince of *Condè*; by which "he had engaged himself never to desert his Interest, nor "to make a Peace without providing for his full restitution, "and reparation, and of those who had run his Fortune, and "put themselves under his Protection: that the Prince had "performed all he had undertaken to do, and had render'd "very great Service to his Catholick Majesty; who would "not only rather lose *Flanders*, but his Crown likewise, than "fail in any particular which he was bound to make good to "the Prince: and therefore he desired the Cardinal "To ac- "quiesce in both those particulars, from which he should not "recede in a title; in others, he would not have the same "obstinacy.

When the Cardinal found that all his Art, and crafty Eloquence were lost upon *Don Lewis*'s want of Politeness; and that he could not bend him in the least degree in either of these important particulars, he resolv'd they should pay otherwise for their Idol Honour, and Punctuality; and after he had brought him to consent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in *Luxemburg*, as *Flanders*, and all other Provinces, by which they dismember'd all the *Spanish* Dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer Neighbours

bours to the *Hollanders*, than the other deſired they ſhould be, he compell'd them, though a thing very forreign to the Treaty, to deliver the Town of *Juliers* to the Duke of *Newburgh*, without the payment of any Money for what they had laid out upon the Fortifications; which they could otherwiſe claim. It is very true, that Town did belong of right to the Duke of *Newburgh*, as part of the Dutchy of *Juliers*, which was deſcended to him. But it is as true, that it was preſerv'd by *Spain*, from being poſſeſs'd by the *Hollanders* many years before, and by Treaty to remain in their hands, till they ſhould receive ſatisfaction for all their Diſburſements. After which time, they erected the Citadel there, and much mended the Fortifications. And this dependence, and expectation, had kept that Prince faſt to all the *Spaniſh* Intereſt in *Germany*: whereas, by the wreſting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true Owner, they got the entire Devotion of the Duke of *Newburgh* to *France*, and ſo a new Friend to ſtrengthen their Alliance upon the *Rhine*, which was before inconvenient enough to *Spain*, by ſtopping the reſort of any *German* Succours into *Flanders*. And if at any time to come, the *French* ſhall purchaſe *Juliers* from the Duke of *Newburgh*, as upon many Accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be poſſeſſed of the moſt advantageous Poſt to facilitate their enterpriſe upon *Liege*, or *Cologne*, or to diſturb the *Hollanders* in *Maeſtricht*, or to ſeiſe upon *Aquiſgrane*, an Imperial Town; and, indeed, to diſturb the Peace of *Chriſtendom*.

Of *Portugal* no other care was taken in the Treaty, than that after the *French* King had pompouſly declar'd, "He would "have given up all his Conqueſts by the War, provided the "King of *Spain* would have conſented that all things ſhould "remain in *Portugal* as they were at that preſent (which Propoſition, "'Twas ſaid, his Catholick Majeſty had abſolutely refuſed) now "The moſt Chriſtian King ſhould be allow'd "three Months time, counting from the day of the Ratifica- "tion of the Treaty, wherein he might try to diſpoſe the *Portu- "gueſe* to ſatisfy his Catholick Majeſty. But after thoſe "three Months ſhould be expired, if his good offices ſhould "not produce the effect deſired, then neither his moſt Chri- "ſtian Majeſty nor his Succeſſours ſhould give the *Portugueſe* "any aid or aſſiſtance, publickly or ſecretly, directly or indi- "rectly, by Sea or Land, or in any other manner whatſoever. And this the Ingenuity of the Cardinal thought could never be called renouncing of the King of *Portugal*'s Intereſt.

To the Prince of *Condè* all things were yielded which had been inſiſted on; and full recompence made to ſuch of his Party as could not be reſtored to their Offices; as Preſident *Viole*,

Viole, and some others: yet *Don Lewis* would not sign the Treaty, till he had sent an Express to the Prince of *Condè*, to inform him of all the particulars, and had receiv'd his full approbation. And even then, the King of *Spain* caused a great Sum of Money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in *Flanders*, and reward his Officers, who were to be disbanded; a Method *France* did not use at the same time to their Proselytes, but left *Catalonia* to their King's Chastisement, without any provision made for *Don Joseph de Margarita* and others, who had been the principal Contrivers of those disturbances; and were left to eat the bread of *France*; where it is administer'd to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their Native Country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new Rebellion.

When all things were concluded, and the Engrosments preparing, the Cardinal came one Morning into *Don Lewis* his Chamber with a sad Countenance; and told him, "They "had lost all their pains, and the Peace could not be concluded. At which *Don Lewis*, in much disturbance, asked, "What "the matter was? the Cardinal very composedly answer'd, "that it must not be; that they two were too good Catholicks "to do any thing against the Pope's infallibility, which would "be called in question by this Peace; since his Holyness had "declared, that there would be no Peace made; as indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of his Pontificate, labour'd it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the Cardinal, who had yet promised him, that, when the Season was ripe for it, he should have the sole power to conclude it; so that when he heard that the two Favourites were to meet, of which he had no Notice, he said in the Consistory, "That he was sure that Cardinal *Mazarin* "would not make a Peace. *Don Lewis* was glad that there was no other objection against it; and so all the Company made themselves merry at the Pope's charge.

When the Marquis of *Ormond* discover'd by the information he receiv'd at *Toulouse*, that the Treaty was so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place the King had appointed to meet at, that his Majesty might lose no more time. When he came thither, he found no body; which he imputed to the usual delays in their Journey; and stayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to *Fuentarabia*, where he heard nothing of the King. Sr *Harry Bennet* was in great perplexity, and complain'd, very reasonably, that the King neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by

his not coming. *Don Lewis* seem'd to wonder, that the King had not come thither, whilst the Cardinal and He were together. The Treaty was now concluded; and though the Cardinal remain'd still at his old Quarters on the *French* side, under some indisposition of the Gout, yet He and *Don Lewis* were to meet no more. But *Don Lewis* was the less troubled that the King had not come sooner, because he had found the Cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the King, very cold, and reserv'd; and he had magnified the power of the Parliament, and seem'd to think his Majesty's hopes desperate; and advised *Don Lewis*, "To be wary how he "Embarked himself in an Affair that had no foundation; and "that it was rather time for all Catholicks to unite to the "breaking the power and interest of the Heretical Party, "wherever it was, than to strengthen it by restoring the King, "except he would become Catholick. And it is believ'd by Wise Men, that, in that Treaty, somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the Protestant Interest; and that, in a short time, there would have been much done against it both in *France*, and *Germany*, if the measures they had there taken had not been shortly broken; chiefly by the surprising Revolution in *England* (which happen'd the next year) and also by the death of the two great Favourites of the two Crowns, *Don Lewis de Haro*, and Cardinal *Mazarin*; who both died not very long after it; the Cardinal, probably, struck with the wonder, if not the agony of that undream'd of prosperity of our King's Affairs; as if he had taken it ill, and laid it to heart, that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in *Europe*, without his concurrence, and even against all his Machinations.

DURING the whole time of the Treaty, *Lockhart* had been at *Bayonne*, and frequently consulted with the Cardinal, and was by him brought to *Don Lewis* twice or thrice, where they spoke of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a Peace were settled between *Spain* and *England*. But the Cardinal treated *Lockhart* (who was in all other occasions too hard for him) in such a manner, that, till the Peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe it would not be made (as appear'd by some of his Letters from *Bayonne*, which fell into the King's hands) and to the last he was perswaded, that *England* should be comprehended in it, in terms to its satisfaction.

THE King, the next day after he had sent the Marquis of *Ormond* to *Toulouse*, receiv'd information upon the way, that the Treaty was absolutely ended, and that *Don Lewis* was return'd to *Madrid*; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his Journey to *Fuentarabia*;

tarabia; and therefore was eaſily perſwaded by the Earl of *Briſtol* to take the neareſt way to *Madrid*, by entring into *Spain* aſſoon as they could; preſuming that the Marquis of *Ormond* would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his Majeſty. With this reſolution, and upon this Intelligence, they continued their Journey till they came to *Saragoſa*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Aragon*. Here they receiv'd Advertiſement, that the Treaty was not fully concluded, and that *Don Lewis* remain'd ſtill at *Fuentarabia*. This was a new perplexity: at laſt they reſolv'd, that the King, and the Earl of *Briſtol*, who had ſtill a mind to *Madrid*, ſhould ſtay at *Saragoſa*, whilſt O *Neile* ſhould go to *Fuentarabia*, and return with direction what courſe they were to ſteer.

The King by miſtakement into Spain as far as to Saragoſa.

DON *Lewis* and the Marquis of *Ormond*, were in great confuſion with the apprehenſion that ſome ill Accident had befallen the King, when Mr O *Neile* arriv'd, and inform'd them by what accident, and miſintelligence, the King had reſolv'd to go to *Madrid*, if he had not been better inform'd at *Saragoſa*; where he now remain'd, till he ſhould receive farther advice. *Don Lewis* was in all the diſturbance imaginable, when he heard the relation: he concluded that this was a trick of the Earl of *Briſtol's* that he held ſome Intelligence with *Don Juan*, and intended to carry the King to *Madrid*, whilſt he was abſent, with a purpoſe to affront him, and in hope to tranſact ſomewhat without his Privity. They were now to ſave, and to borrow all the Money they could to defray the Expences which muſt be ſhortly made for the Interview, Marriage, and delivery of the Infanta, and all this muſt be ſpent upon the King of *England's* Entry, and Entertainment in *Madrid*; for a King *incognito* was never heard of in *Spain*. The Marriage was concluded, and now another young unmarried King muſt be receiv'd, and careſſed in that Court; which would occaſion much diſcourſe both in *Spain* and *France*. All theſe things his melancholy had made him revolve; nor did he conceal the trouble he endured, from the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Sr *Harry Bennet*; who aſſured him, "That all that "was paſt was by meer miſtake, and without any purpoſe to "decline Him, upon whoſe Friendſhip alone the King abſo-"lutely depended; and undertook poſitively, "That aſſoon "as his Majeſty ſhould be inform'd of his advice, he would "make all the haſte thither he could, without thought of do-"ing any thing elſe: which *Don Lewis* deſired might be effected aſſoon as was poſſible: So O *Neile* return'd to *Saragoſa*, and his Majeſty, without delay, made his Journey from thence to *Fuentarabia*, with as much expedition as he could uſe.

Thence returns to Fuentarabia. His Treatment there by Don Lewis de Haro.

THE King was receiv'd according to the *Spaniſh* Mode and Generoſity, and treated with the ſame reſpect and reve-

rence that could be shew'd to his Catholick Majesty himself, if he had been in that place. *Don Lewis* deliver'd all that could be said from the King his Master; "How much he "was troubled, that the condition of his Affairs, and the ne- "cessity that was upon him to make shortly a long Journey, "would not permit him to invite his Majesty to *Madrid*, and "to treat him in that manner that was suitable to his Gran- "deur: that having happily concluded the Peace, he had "now nothing so much in his thoughts, as how he might be "able to give, or procure such assistance as his Majesty stood "in need of; and that he should never be destitute of any "thing, that his power and interest could help him to. *Don Lewis* for himself made all those professions, which could possibly be expected from him. He confessed, "That there "was no provision made in the Treaty that the two Crowns "would joyntly assist his Majesty; but that he believ'd the "Cardinal would be ready to perform all good Offices towards "him; and that, for his own particular, his Majesty should "receive good Testimony of the profound veneration he had "for him.

DON *Lewis* intimated a Wish, that his Majesty could yet have some conference with the Cardinal, who was, as is said, still within distance. Whereupon the King sent the Marquis of *Ormond* to visit him, and to let him know, that his Majesty had a desire to come to him, that he might have some conference with him, and receive his Counsel and Advice. But the Cardinal would by no means admit it; said, "It would "administer unseasonable jealousy to the Parliament, without "any manner of benefit to the King. He made many large professions, which he could do well, of his Affection to the King; desired, "He would have patience till the Marriage "should be over, which would be in the next Spring; and "till then their Majesties must remain in those parts: but, "assoon as that should be dispatched, the whole Court would "return to *Paris*; and that he would not be long there, before "he gave the King some evidence of his kindness and respect: other answer than this the Marquis could not obtain.

The Cardinal would not see the King.

AFTER his Majesty had stay'd as long as he thought convenient at *Fuentarabia* (for he knew well that *Don Lewis* was to return to *Madrid* before the King of *Spain* could take any resolution to begin, or order his own Journey, and that he stay'd there only to entertain his Majesty) he discern'd that he had nothing more to do than to return to *Flanders*; where he was assured, his reception should be better than it had been. So he declared his resolution to begin his return on such a day. In the short time of his stay there, the Earl of *Bristol*, according to his excellent talent, which seldom failed him in

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any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any Man had wrought himself so much into the good Graces of all the *Spaniards*, that *Don Lewis* was willing to take him with him to *Madrid*, and that he should be receiv'd into the Service of his Catholick Majesty, in such a Province as should be worthy of him. So that his Majesty had now a less Train to return with, the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Daniel O Neile*, and two or three Servants.

DON *Lewis* with a million of excuses that their Expences had been so great, as had wasted all their Money, presented his Majesty with seven thousand Gold Pistoles, "To defray, as he said, "The Expences of his Journey, with assurance, "That "when he came into *Flanders*, he should find all necessary "Orders for his better Accommodation, and carrying on his "business. So his Majesty begun his Journey, and took *Paris* in his way to visit the Queen his Mother, with whom a good understanding was made upon removing all former mistakes; and, towards the end of *December*, he return'd to *Brussels* in good Health; where he found his two Brothers the Dukes of *York*, and *Gloucester*, impatiently expecting him.

The King's return towards Flanders by Paris.

He came to Brussels about the end of Decemb.

THE pleasure and variety of his Journey, and the very civil Treatment he had receiv'd from *Don Lewis*, with the good disposition he had left the Queen his Mother in, had very much reviv'd and refreshed the King's Spirit, and the Joy for his Return dispersed the present Clouds. But he had not been long at *Brussels*, before he discern'd the same melancholy and despair in the Countenances of most Men, which he had left there: and though there had some Changes happen'd in *England*, which might reasonably encourage Men to look for greater, they had so often been disappointed in those Expectations, that it was a reproach to any Man to think that any good could come from thence.

UPON this melancholick conjuncture some about the King begun to think of Providing a Religion, as well as other conveniencies, that might be grateful to those People and Places, where, and with whom they were like to reside. The Protestant Religion was found to be very agreeable to their Fortune, and they exercised their thoughts most how to get handsomely from it; and if it had not been for the King's own steadiness, of which he gave great indications, Men would have been more out of Countenance to have own'd the Faith they were of; and many made little doubt, but that it would shortly be very manifest to the King, that his Restoration depended wholly upon a Conjunction of Catholick Princes, who could never be United, but on the behalf of Catholick Religion.

The ill state of his Majesty's affairs there.

THE best the King could now look for, seem'd to be a permission to remain in *Flanders*, with a narrow assignation for his Bread, which was a melancholick Condition for a King; nor could that be depended upon; for there were secret approaches made, both from *England*, and *Spain*, towards a Peace; and the *Spaniard* had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in this intended Conquest of *Portugal*. And what influence any Peace might have upon his Majesty's quiet, might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no War in *Flanders*, the Dukes of *York*, and *Gloucester*, could no longer remain in an unactive course of Life; and the Duke of *York* had a great Family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the King. And therefore, when the Marquis of *Carracena* at this time brought the Duke of *York* a Letter from the King of *Spain*, that he would make him *El Admirante del Oceano*, his Highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any Man to be a declared Enemy to their Master, who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told, "That it was not such a preferment, that the Duke should so greedily embrace it, before he knew what Conditions he should be subject to, and what he might expect from it: That the Command had been in a younger Son of the Duke of *Savoy*, and at another time in a younger Son of the Duke of *Florence*, who both grew quickly weary of it; for whatsoever Title they had, the whole Command was in the *Spanish* Officers under Them; and that, if the Duke were there, he might possibly have a competent Pension to live on Shore, but would never be suffer'd to go to Sea under any Title of Command, till he first changed his Religion; all this had no signification with them; but they prevail'd with his Royal Highness, to return his consent, and acceptation of the Office, by the same Courier who brought the Letter.

The Duke of York invited into Spain.

THE Marquis of *Carracena* likewise told the King, "That he had receiv'd Orders to put all things in a readness for his Expedition into *England*, towards which he would add three thousand Men to those Troops which his Majesty already had. At the same time the Lord *Jermyn*, and Mr *Walter Mountague*, came to the King from *Paris*, with many Compliments from the Cardinal, "That when there should be a Peace between the two Northern Kings (for *Sweden* and *Denmark* were now in a War) "*France* would declare avowedly for the King; but in the mean time they could only assist him under hand; and to that purpose, they had appointed three thousand Men to be ready on the Borders of

The Lord Jermyn came to the King with Compliments from the Cardinal.

"of *France*, to be Transported out of *Flanders*, and thirty "thousand Pistoles to be disposed of by the King to advance "that Expedition. Sr *Harry Bennet* had sent from *Madrid* a Copy of the *Spanish* Orders to the Marquis of *Carracena*; by which he was not (as he had told the King) to add three thousand Men to the King's Troops, but to make those which his Majesty had, amount to the Number of three thousand. But that which was strangest, the King must be obliged to Embark them in *France*. The Men the Cardinal would provide, must be Embarked in *Flanders*; and they who were to be supplied by *Spain*, must be Embarked in *France*. So that by these two specious pretences, and profers, the King could only discern, that they were both afraid of offending *England*, and would offer nothing of which his Majesty could make any use, before they might take such a prospect of what was like to come to pass, that they might new form their Counsels. And the Lord *Jermyn*, and Mr *Mountague*, had so little expectation of *England*, that they concurr'd both in opinion, that the Duke of *York* should embrace the opportunity that was offer'd from *Spain*; to which they made no doubt the Queen would give Her consent.

In this state of despair the King's Condition was concluded to be, about the beginning of *March*, old Style, 1659: and though his Majesty, and those few entrusted by him, had reason to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from some great alterations in *England*; yet such imagination was so looked upon as meer dotage, that the King thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all Men to cast about for themselves, till they were awaken'd, and confounded by such a prodigious Act of Providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any Nation, since he led his own chosen People through the *Red Sea*.

The affairs of England after the defeat of Booth and Middleton.

After the defeat of *Booth* and *Middleton*, and the King's hopes so totally destroy'd, the Parliament thought of Transporting the Loyal Families into *Barbadoes*, and *Jamaica*, and other Plantations, lest they might hereafter produce in *England* Children of their Fathers Affections; and by degrees, so to model their Army that they might never give them more trouble. They had sent *Lambert* a thousand pounds to buy him a Jewel; which he employ'd better by bestowing it among the Officers, who might well deserve it of him. This bounty of his was quickly known to the Parliament; which concluded, that he intended to make a Party in the Army, that should more depend upon Him than upon Them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour; and that it was by His Advice, that they were first dissolv'd, and that He in truth had helped to make *Cromwell* Protector, upon his

The Parliament grows jealous of Lambert's Army.

promise that He should succeed him; and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. They therefore resolv'd to secure him from doing farther harm, assoon as he should come to the Town.

LAMBERT, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march (as if all were not safe) to seise upon the Persons of Delinquents. He was well inform'd of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the Parliament intended to make a Peace with all Forreigners, and then to Disband their Army, except only some few Regiments, which should consist only of Persons at their own Devotion. He foresaw what His portion then must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remember'd, and the good forgotten. He therefore contriv'd a Petition, which was sign'd by the inferior Officers of his Army; in which they desir'd the Parliament, "That they might be govern'd, as all Armies "used to be, by a General, who might be amongst them, and "other Officers, according to their Qualities, subordinate to "him. The Address was intituled, *The humble Petition and Proposals of the Army, under the Command of the Lord* Lambert, *in the late Northern Expedition.*

The Petition and Proposals of Lambert's Army.

THEY made a large Recapitulation of "The many Services "they had done, which they thought were forgotten; and "that now lately they had preserv'd them from an Enemy, "which, if they had been suffer'd to grow, would, in a short time, "have overrun the Kingdom, and engaged the Nation in a "new bloody War; to which too many Men were still in-"clined; and concluded with a desire, "That they would "commit the Army to *Fleetwood*, as General; and that they "would appoint *Lambert* to be Major General. *Fleetwood* was a weak Man, but very popular with all the praying part of the Army; a Man, whom the Parliament would have trusted, if they had not resolv'd to have no General, being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any Man's; and *Lambert* knew well he could govern him, as *Cromwell* had done *Fairfax*, and then in the like manner lay him aside. This Petition was sent by some trusty Person to some Colonels of the Army, in whom *Lambert* had confidence, to the end that they should deliver it to *Fleetwood*, to be by him presented first to the Council of Officers, and afterwards to the Parliament. He resolv'd first to consult with some of his Friends for Their advice; and so it came to the notice of *Haslerig*, who immediately inform'd the Parliament "Of a Rebellion growing in the "Army, which, if not suppressed, would undo all they had "done. They, as they were always apt to take Alarms of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the Petition, but sent to *Fleetwood* for it. He answer'd, he

This Petition discover'd to Haslerig; *who acquaints the House with it.*

he had only a Copy, but that such Officers, whom he named, had the Original. The Officers were presently sent for, but could not be found till the Afternoon; when they produced the Petition. Whereupon the Parliament, that they might discountenance and exclude any Address of that kind, passed a Vote, "That the having more General Officers was a thing "needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth.

They pass a Vote to have no more General Officers.

THIS put the whole Army into that distemper, that *Lambert* could wish it in; and brought the Council of Officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had done since the reviving of the Parliament. They prepared and presented a Petition and Representation to the Parliament; in which they gave them many good words, and assured them of "Their fidelity towards them; but yet that they would so "far take care for their own preservation, that they would "not be at the Mercy of their Enemies; and implied, that they having no way forfeited their Rights of Freemen, had likewise Privileges, which they would not quit; and then seconded the propolals of the Northern Brigade with more warmth, and desired, "That whatever Persons should for the "future groundlesly inform the Parliament against them, "creating jealousies, and casting scandalous imputations upon "them, may be brought to examination, justice, and condign "punishment.

The Council of Officers upon this prepare a Petition, and Representation to the Parliament.

THE Parliament, that was govern'd by *Vane* and *Haslerig* the Heads of the Republick, Party, though of very different Natures and Understandings) found there would be no compounding this dispute amicably, but that one Side must be suppressed. They resolv'd therefore to take away all hope of Subsistence from the Army, if they should be inclined to make any alteration in the Government by force. In order thereunto they declared "That it should be Treason in any Person "whatsoever to raise, levy and collect Money, without consent in Parliament. Then they made void all Acts for Custom, and Excise; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the Army, except they would prey upon the People, which could not hold long. Next they cashier'd *Lambert*, and eight other principal Officers of the Army; with whom they were most offended, for subscribing a Letter to all the other Forces desiring their concurrence with the Army in *London*, and conferr'd their Regiments and Commands upon other Persons, in whom they could confide; and committed the whole Government of the Army into the hands of seven Commissioners; who were, *Fleetwood* (whom they believ'd to have a great Interest in the Army, and so durst not totally disoblige him) *Ludlow* (who commanded the Army in *Ireland*)

The Parliament declare it Treason to raise Money without consent of Parliament; and make void all Money Acts.

They Cashire Lambert, and eight other principal Officers of the Army.

They make seven Commissioners to govern the Army.

Monk

Monk (who was their General in *Scotland*) *Haslerig*, *Walton*, *Morley*, and *Overton*; who were all upon the place.

THE Army was too far engaged to retire, and it was unskilfully done by the Parliament to provoke so many of them, being not sure of a competent strength to execute their Orders. But they had a great presumption upon the City; and had already forgotten, how the Army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the Parliament had much more reputation, and the Army less terrour. The Nine cashier'd Officers were resolv'd not to part with their Commands, nor would the Soldiers submit to their new Officers; and both Officers and Soldiers consulted their Affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at *Westminster* the next Morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashier'd.

The Parliament send for Forces to defend them, and for the City Militia.

THE Parliament, to encounter this design, sent their Orders to those Regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next Morning at *Westminster* to defend them from force; and likewise sent into the City to draw down their Militia. Of the Army, the next Morning, there appear'd two Regiments of Foot, and four Troops of Horse; who, were well Arm'd, and ranged themselves in the *Palace*-yard, with a Resolution to oppose all Force that should attempt the Parliament. *Lambert* intended they should have little to do there; and divided his Party in the Army to the several places by which the City Militia could come to *Westminster*, with order "That they should suffer none to march that way, or "to come out of the Gates; then placed himself with some Troops in *King*-street, and before *White-Hall*, to expect when the Speaker would come to the House; who, at his accustom'd hour, came, in his usual State, guarded with his Troop of Horse. *Lambert* rode up to the Speaker, and told him, "There was nothing to be done at *Westminster*, and therefore advised him "To return back again to his House: which he refused to do, and endeavour'd to proceed, and called to his Guard to make way. Upon which *Lambert* rode to the Captain, and pulled him off his Horse; and bid Major *Creed*, who had formerly Commanded that Troop, to mount into his Saddle; which he presently did. Then he took away the Mace, and bid Major *Creed* conduct Mr *Lenthal* to his House. Whereupon they made his Coach-man turn, and without the least contradiction the Troop march'd very quietly, till he was alighted at his own House; and then disposed of themselves as their new Captain commanded them.

Lambert draws some Troops together, stops the Speaker, and makes him go home.

WHEN they had thus secured themselves from any more Votes, *Lambert* sent to those who had been order'd into the *Palace*-yard by the Parliament, to withdraw to their Quarters; which they refused to do; at which he smiled, and bid them

them then to ſtay there: which they did till towards the Evening; but then finding themſelves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the Parliament ſate not, they deſired that they might repair to their Quarters; which they were appointed to do. But their Officers were Caſhier'd; and ſuch ſent to command as *Lambert* thought fit; who found all ſubmiſſion and obedience from the Soldiers, though no body yet knew who had power to command them. There was no Parliament, nor any Officer in the Army who was by his Commiſſion above the degree of a Colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own Regiment.

WHEREUPON the Officers of the Army meet together and declare, "That the Army finding it ſelf without a Gene-"ral, or other general Officers, had themſelves made choice "of *Fleetwood* to be their General, and *Lambert* to be their "Major General, and of *Desborough* to be Commiſſary General "of the Horſe; and that they bound themſelves to obey them "in their ſeveral Capacities, and to adhere to, and defend them. Upon the publiſhing this Declaration, they aſſum'd their ſeveral Provinces; and the whole Army took Commiſſions from their new General; and were as much united, as if they were under *Cromwell*; and look'd upon it as a great deliverance, that they ſhould no more be ſubject to the Parliament; which they all deteſted.

The Officers meet, and chooſe Fleetwood *General* &c.

BUT theſe Generals were not at eaſe; they knew well upon what ſlippery ground they ſtood: the Parliament had ſtopped all the Channels in which the Revenue was to run; put an end to all payments of Cuſtom and Exciſe; and to revive theſe Impoſitions, by which the Army might receive their Wages, required another Authority than of the Army it ſelf. The diviſions in the Parliament, had made the outrage that was committed upon it leſs reproachful. *Vane* who was much the wiſeſt Man, found he could never make that Aſſembly ſettle ſuch a Government as He affected, either in Church or State: and *Haſlerig*, who was of a rude, and ſtubborn Nature, and of a weak underſtanding, concurr'd only with him in all the fierce Counſels, which might more irrecoverably diſinherit the King, and root out his Majeſty's Party: in all other things relating to the Temporal, or Eccleſiaſtical matters, they were not only of different judgments, but of extraordinary animoſity againſt each other.

Vane's and Haſlerig's parts in this buſineſs.

VANE was a Man not to be deſcribed by any Character of Religion; in which he had ſwallow'd ſome of the fancies, and extravagancies of every Sect, or Faction; and was become (which cannot be expreſſed by any other Language than was peculiar to that time) *a Man above Ordinances*, unlimited, or unreſtrain'd

unrestrain'd by any rules, or bounds prescibed to other Men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect Enthusiast; and, without doubt did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding (which in all matters without the Verge of Religion was Superior to that of most Men) that he did at some time believe, he was the Person deputed to Reign over the Saints upon Earth for a thousands years.

HASLERIG was, as to the State, perfectly Republican; and as to Religion, perfectly Presbyterian: and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a King or a Bishop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the Parliament to be the only Government that would infallibly keep those two out; and his Credit in the House was greater than the other's; which made *Vane* less troubled at the Violence that was used (though he would never advise it) and appear willing enough to confer, and joyn with those who would find any other hinge to hang the Government upon: so he presently enter'd into conversation with those of the Army, who were most like to have Authority.

A MODEL of such a Government, as the People must acquiesce in, and submit to, would require very much Agitation, and very long time; which the present conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great Authority to their Counsels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions,

A Committee of Safety constituted by the Army.

"That a Number of Persons should be chosen, who, under "the stile of a *Committee of Safety*, should assume the present "entire Government, and have full power to revive all such "Orders, or to make new, which might be necessary for "raising of Money, or for doing any thing else which should "be judged for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; and to "consider and determine, what form of Government was fit "to be erected, to which the Nation was to submit. They also declar'd "All the Orders, Acts, or pretended Acts made "in Parliament on the 10, 11, and 12 of *October*, before their "Interruption, to be void and null to all intents and purposes, "as if they had never been.

TO this new Invention, how wild soever; they believ'd the People would be perswaded, with the Assistance of the Army, to pay a temporary Obedience, in hope of another settlement speedily to ensue. They agreed that the Number of this *Committee of Safety* should consist of three and twenty Persons; six or seven Officers of the Army, whereof *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and *Desborough* were three; *Ireton*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and *Tichburn*, the two principal Officers of the Militia of the City, with four or five more Citizens of more

more private Names; but Men try'd, and faithful to the Republick Intereſt, and not like to give any countenance to Presbyterians (for they were very jealous of that Party generally) beſides three or four others of thoſe who had been the King's Judges, with *Warreſton*, *Vane*, *Steel*, and *Whitlock*, whom they made Keeper of their Great Seal.

THUS having choſen each other, and agreed that they ſhould exerciſe the whole Legiſlative Power of the Nation, and proclaim'd themſelves *The Commettee of Safety for the Kingdom*, and required all People to pay them Obedience, and iſſued out their Warrants for all things which they thought good for themſelves, to which there appear'd a general ſubmiſſion and acquieſcence, that they might be ſure to receive no diſturbance from thoſe of their own Tribe in any Parts, they ſent Colonel *Cobbet* to *Scotland*, to perſwade General *Monk* to a concurrence with them; and becauſe they were not confident of him (there being great emulation between Him and *Lambert*) to work upon as many of his Officers as he could; there being many in that Army of whoſe Affections they were well aſſured; and, at the ſame time, they ſent another Colonel into *Ireland*, to diſpoſe the Army there to a ſubmiſſion to their Power and Authority.

Cobbet *ſent into* Scotland *to* Monk.

And another to the Army in Ireland.

BEFORE the Parliament was Routed, they diſcern'd what *Lambert's* Intrigues would ſhortly produce; and therefore had writ to *Monk*, "That he would take care of his Army, leſt it "ſhould be corrupted againſt him, which they knew was en- "deavouring; and *Haſlerig*, who had ſome Friendſhip with him, writ particularly to him "To continue firm to the Par- "liament; and to aſſure him, "That before *Lambert* ſhould "be able to be near him to give him any trouble, he would "give him other divertiſment. And ſome time after *Lambert* had acted that Violence upon the Speaker, ſo that they could meet no more, *Haſlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, three of the Commiſſioners of the Government of the Army, went to *Portſmouth*; where Colonel *Whetham* the Governour was their Friend, and devoted to the Presbyterian-Republican Party; for that diſtinction was now grown amongſt them; Others, and the moſt conſiderable of that Party, profeſſing "That "they very much deſired Monarchical Government, and the "Perſon of the King, ſo that they might have him without "Epiſcopacy, and enjoy the Lands of the Church; which they had divided among them. Theſe three were well receiv'd at *Portſmouth*; and that they might be without any diſturbance there, the Governour turn'd all ſuch Officers and Soldiers out of the Town, who were ſuſpected to be, or might be made of the Party of the Army; and Colonel *Morley*, whoſe Intereſt was in *Suſſex*, eaſily drew in enough of his Friends,

Haſlerig, Walton, *and* Morley *go to* Portſmouth.

Friends, to make them very secure in their Garrison; which the *Committee of Safety* thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the Kingdom were at their Devotion; nor did the matter it self much trouble them; for they knew that *Hasterig* would never be induced to serve the King, whose Interest only could break all their Measures.

But this open declaring of *Portsmouth* for the Parliament happen'd not till the following *December*. That which gave them real trouble was, that they receiv'd bold Letters from *Monk*, about the end of *October*; who presum'd to censure, and find fault with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the Parliament, from whom they had all their Power and Authority: and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of *Berwick*. But that which troubled them most was, that assoon as *Cobbet* came into *Scotland*, he was committed close Prisoner to *Edenborough* Castle; and that *Monk* used extraordinary diligence to purge his Army, and turn'd all the Fanaticks, and other Persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to *Lambert*, and his Party, both out of the Army, and the Kingdom; sending them under a Guard into *Berwick*, and from thence dismissing them into *England*, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in *Scotland*. This was an Alarm worthy of their fear; and evidence enough, that they were never to expect *Monk* to be of their Party: besides that they had always look'd upon him as entirely devoted to the Person of *Cromwell*; otherwise without obligation to any Party or Opinion, and more like to be seduced by the King, than any Man who had Authority in the three Kingdoms: therefore they resolv'd to send *Lambert*, with their whole Army into the North, that he might at least stop him in any march he should think of making: reserving only some Troops to guard themselves, and keep the Town quiet, and some others to send to *Portsmouth*, if not to reduce it, at least to hinder the Garrison there from making Incursions into the two Neighbour Counties of *Sussex*, and *Hampshire*, where they had many Friends.

Monk writes to the Officers of the Army declaring for the Parliament.

Possesses Berwick; Imprisons Cobbet; and purges his Army of Fanaticks.

Lambert sent against him.

Whilst all preparations were making for the Army to march towards *Scotland*, *the Committee of Safety* resolv'd once more to try if they could induce *Monk* to a conjunction with them; and to that purpose they sent to him two such Persons as they though might be grateful to him; of whom one was his Wife's Brother; and after them some Officers of the Army and two Independent Ministers, with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself, or for any of his Friends. He receiv'd these Men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions "That he desired nothing more "than

They send Clarges &c. to Monk.

Monk's answer to them.

"than to unite himself and his Army with that of *England*, "provided that there might be a Lawful power, to which "they might all be subject: but that the Force that had been "used upon the Parliament, was an Action of such a Nature, "that was destructive to all Government, and that it would "be absolutely necessary to restore that to its Freedom, Rights, "and Privileges; which being done, he would use all the in- "stance and credit he had to procure an Act of Pardon, and "Oblivion, for all that had been done amiss; and this would "unite both Parliament and Army for the publick Safety, "which was apparently threaten'd and shaken'd by this dis- "union. He added, "That he so much desired Peace and "Union, and so little thought of using Force, that he would "appoint three Officers of his Army, *Wilks*, *Clobery*, and "*Knight*, to go to *London*, and treat with *the Committee of* "*Safety*, of all particulars necessary thereunto. When the Persons sent from *London* gave an Account of their reception, and of the great professions the General made, and his reso- lution to send a Committee to treat upon the Accommoda- tion, *the Committee of Safety* was very well pleased, and con- cluded, that the fame of their Army's march had frighted him: so that, as they willingly embraced the Overture of a Treaty, they likewise appointed *Lambert* to hasten his March, and to make no stay, till he should come to *New-Castle*. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his Army still encreasing till he came thither.

He appoints three Commissioners to treat with the Officers of the Army at London.

They at London accept of a Treaty.

GENERAL *Monk* was a Gentleman of a very good Ex- traction, of a very ancient Family in *Devonshire*, always very Loyally affected. Being a younger Brother, he enter'd early into the life and condition of a Soldier, upon that Stage where some of all *Europe* then acted, between the *Spaniard* and the *Dutch*; and had the reputation of a very good Foot-Officer in the Lord *Vere*'s Regiment in *Holland*, at the time when he as- sign'd it to the Command of Colonel *Goring*. When the first Troubles begun in *Scotland*, *Monk*, and many other Officers of the Nation, left the *Dutch* Service, and betook themselves to the Service of the King. In the beginning of the *Irish* Re- bellion, he was sent thither, with the Command of the Lord *Leicester*'s own Regiment of Foot (who was then Lieutenant of *Ireland*) and continued in that Service with singular repu- tation of courage, and conduct. When the War broke out in *England* between the King and the Parliament, he fell under some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the Parliament; which proceeded from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination towards them; as appear'd by his behaviour at *Nantwich*, where he was taken Prisoner, and remain'd in the Tower till the

A particular account of General Monk.

the end of the War. For though his behaviour had been ſuch in *Ireland*, when the Tranſportation of the Regiment from thence, to ſerve the King in *England*, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his Regiment ſhould be ſent on that Expedition, and his Anſwer to the Lord of *Ormond* was ſo rough, and doubtful, that he thought not fit to truſt him, but gave the Command of the Regiment to *Harry Warren*, the Lieutenant Colonel of it, an excellent Officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when thoſe Regiments were ſent to *Cheſter*, and there were others at the ſame time ſent to *Briſtol*, and with them *Monk* went under ſome Cloud, and from *Briſtol* to the King at *Oxford*, where he was known to many Perſons of Quality (and his eldeſt Brother being at the ſame time moſt zealous in the King's Service in the Weſt, and moſt uſeful) his profeſſions were ſo ſincere (he being, throughout his whole life, never ſuſpected of diſſimulation) that all Men there thought him very worthy of all truſt; and the King was willing to ſend him into the Weſt, where the Gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he deſired that he might ſerve with his old Friends and Companions; and ſo, with the King's leave, made all haſte towards *Cheſter*; where he arriv'd the very day before the Defeat at *Nantwich*; and though his Lieutenant Colonel was very deſirous to give up the Command again to him, and to receive his Orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but choſe to ſerve, as a Voluntier, in the firſt Rank, with a Pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was ſaid, taken Priſoner with the reſt, and with moſt of the other Officers ſent to *Hull*, and ſhortly after from thence to the Tower of *London*.

He was no ſooner there, than the Lord *Liſle*, who had great kindneſs for him, and good Intereſt in the Parliament, with much importunity endeavour'd to perſwade him to take a Commiſſion in that Service, and offer'd him a Command Superior to what he had ever had before; which he poſitively and diſdainfully refuſed to accept, though the ſtreights he ſuffer'd in Priſon were very great, and he thought himſelf not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his Exchange, nor Money ſent for his ſupport. But there was all poſſible endeavour uſed for the firſt, by offering ſeveral Officers of the ſame Quality for his Exchange; which was always refuſed; there having been an Ordinance made, "That no Officer who "had been Tranſported out of *Ireland*, ſhould ever be ex- "changed; ſo that moſt of them remained ſtill in Priſon with him in the Tower, and the reſt in other Priſons; who all underwent the ſame hardſhips by the extreme neceſſity of the King's condition, which could not provide Money enough

for

for their ſupply; yet all was done towards it that was poſſible.

When the War was at an end, and the King a Priſoner, *Cromwell* prevailed with *Monk*, for his liberty and preferment, to engage himſelf again in the War of *Ireland*. And, from that time, *Monk* continued very firm to *Cromwell*; who was liberal and bountiful to him; and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the Command of *Scotland* into his hands, he feared nothing from thoſe Quarters; nor was there any Man in either of the Armies, upon whoſe fidelity to himſelf *Cromwell*, more depended. And thoſe of his Weſtern Friends, who thought beſt of him, thought it to no purpoſe to make any Attempt upon him, whilſt *Cromwell* liv'd. But aſſoon as He was dead, *Monk* was generally looked upon as a Man more inclined to the King, than any other in great Authority, if he might diſcover it without too much loſs or hazard. His Elder Brother had been entirely devoted to the King's Service, and all his Relations were of the ſame faith. He himſelf had no fumes of Fanaticiſm to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependance upon any who were ſway'd by thoſe trances.

He had a younger Brother, a Divine, who had a Parſonage in *Devonſhire*, and had, through all the ill times, carried himſelf with ſingular Integrity; and being a Gentleman of a good Family, was in great reputation with all thoſe who conſtantly adhered to the King. Sr *Hugh Pollard*, and Sr *John Greenvil*, who had both Friendſhip for the General, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his Brother, adviſed with him, "Whether, ſince *Cromwell* was now gone, and in all reaſon it might "be expected that his death would be attended with a gene-"ral Revolution, by which the King's Intereſt would be again "diſputed, he did not believe, that the General might be "wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to ſerve the King, in "which, they thought, he would be ſure to meet with a uni-"verſal concurrence from the whole *Scotiſh* Nation. The honeſt Clergy-man thought the overture ſo reaſonable, and wiſhed ſo heartily it might be embraced, that he offer'd himſelf to make a Journey to his Brother into *Scotland*, upon pretence of a viſit (there having been always a brotherly Affection perform'd between them) and directly to propoſe it to him. *Pollard* and *Greenvil* inform'd the King of this deſign; and believ'd well themſelves of what they wiſh'd ſo much, and deſired his Majeſty's Approbation, and Inſtruction. The King had reaſon to approve it; and ſent ſuch directions as he thought moſt proper for ſuch a Negotiation. Whereupon his Brother begun his Journey towards *Edenborough*, where the General receiv'd him well. But after he had ſtaid ſome time there, and

found an opportunity to tell him on what Errand he came, He soon dismissed him, without discovering to him any inclination to the business he came about, advising him "To return "no more to him with such Propositions.

In truth, at that time, the General had not given the least publick proof that he had any thought, or purpose of contributing to the King's Restauration, which he might possibly think to be desperate. Some rather believed, that the disposition, which afterwards grew in him, towards it, did arise from divers Accidents, which fell out in the course of Affairs, and seem'd even to oblige him to undertake that which in the end conduced so much to his greatness and glory: yet from that very time, his Brother's Inclinations to the King being known, and his Journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in *Scotland* that he had a purpose to serve the King; which his Majesty took no pains to disclaim either there, or in *England*.

Monk's jealousy of Lambert before this time.

Now upon the several suddain Changes in *England*, and the Army's possessing it self of the entire Government, *Monk* saw he should be quickly overrun and destroyed by *Lambert's* greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the North, he used all inventions to get time, by entring into Treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other Party that would own and avow the Parliament's Interest, as he had done: nor did he then manifest to have more in his purpose, than his own profit and honour, under the establishment of that Government.

When he heard of *Lambert's* being passed *York* and his making haste to *New-Castle*, and had purged out of his Army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called together an Assembly somewhat resembling a Convention of the States of *Scotland*; which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other power over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce that People to an entire submission to that Tyrannical Yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was Friendly and Companiable enough; and as he was fear'd by the Nobility, and hated by the Clergy, so he was not unlov'd by the Common People, who receiv'd more Justice, and less Oppression from him, than they had been accustom'd to under their own Lords. When this Convention appear'd before him, he told them, "That he had receiv'd a "Call from Heaven, and Earth, to march with his Army in-"to *England*, for the better settlement of the Government "there; and though he did not intend his absence should be "long, yet he foresaw that there might be some disturbance "of

He calls together an Assembly of the Scotish Nation.

His discourse to them.

"of the Peace which they enjoyed; and therefore he expect-
"ed, and desired, that, in any such occasion, they would be
"ready to joyn with the Forces he left behind in their own de-
"fence. In the second place, which was indeed all he cared for from them, he very earnestly pressed them, "That they would "pay in a present Sum of Money out of the Arrears of their "Taxes, for supplying the necessities of the Army, without "which it could not well march into *England*.

FROM the time that he had settled his Government in that Kingdom, he had shew'd more kindness to, and used more familiarity with such Persons as were most notorious for Affection to the King, as finding them a more direct and punctual People than the rest: and when these Men resorted to him upon this Convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promise, or intimation to any such purpose, yet he was very well content they should believe that he carried with him very good Inclinations to the King; by which imagination of theirs, he receiv'd great Advantage: for they payed him the Arrears of a twelve Months Tax over the Kingdom; which complied with his wish, and partly enabled him to draw his Army together. And after he had assign'd those whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and afterwards put them under the command of Major General *Morgan*, he march'd with the rest to *Berwick*; where a good part of his Horse and Foot expected him; having refused to ratify the Treaty sign'd by his Commissioners at *London*, and committed Colonel *Wilks*, one of them, upon his return to *Scotland*, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expresly contrary to his Instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another Treaty to be held at *New-Castle*; which, though he knew it would be govern'd by *Lambert*, was like not to be without some benefit to himself, because it would keep up the opinion, in the *Committee of Safety*, that he was inclined to an accommodation of Peace.

IT was towards the end of *November*, that *Lambert* with his Army arriv'd at *New-Castle*, where he found the Officers and Soldiers whom *Monk* had cashier'd; and who, he perswaded the People, had deserted *Monk*, for his infidelity to the Common-wealth, and that most of those, who yet stayed with him, would do so too, assoon as he should be within distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that relief to his *Committee of Safety*, which it was like to stand in need of. *Haslerig* and *Morley* were now looked upon, as the Persons invested with the Authority of Parliament, whose interest was supported by them; and the Officer, who was sent by *the Committee of Safety* to restrain them in *Portsmouth*,

Lambert comes with his Army to New-Castle towards the end of November.

mouth, or rather to restrain Persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his Soldiers; who declared "That they would serve the Parliament, and so went into *Portsmouth*; and another Officer, who was sent with a stronger Party to second them, discovering, or fomenting the same Affections in his Soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place: so that they were now grown too Numerous to be contain'd within that Garrison, but were Quarter'd to be in a readiness to march whither their Generals *Haslerig* and *Morley*, would conduct them.

The Soldiers before Portsmouth *revolted to it.*

The City took new courage from hence; and what the Masters durst not publickly own, the Apprentices did, their dislike, of the present Government; and flocking together in great Multitudes, declar'd "That they would have a free Par-"liament. And though Colonel *Hewson* (a bold Fellow, who had been an ill Shoemaker, and afterwards Clerk to a Brewer of small Beer) who was left to guard *the Committee of Safety*, suppressed that Commotion by marching into the City, and killing some of the Apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the City the more against the Army; which, they said, "Was only kept on foot to murder the Citizens. And it was said, they caused a Bill of Indictment to be prepared against *Hewson* for those Murders. The Common Council appear'd every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed to them by *the Committee of Safety*; which begun to be universally abhorr'd, as like to be the Original of such another Tyranny as *Cromwell* had erected, since it wholly depended upon the Power and Spirit of the Army: though on the other hand, the Committee protested and declared to them, "That there should be a Parliament "called to meet together in *February* next, under such Quali-"fications and Restrictions, as might be sure to exclude such "Persons who would destroy them. But this gave no satis-faction, every Man remembring the Parliament that had been packed by *Cromwell*.

The City Apprentices rise, but are suppressed by Hewson.

But that which broke the heart of *the Committee of Safety*, was the revolt of their Favourite Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, a Man at that time appearing at least as much Republican, as any amongst them; as much an Independent, as much an Enemy to the Presbyterians and to the Covenant, as Sr *Harry Vane* himself; and a great dependent upon Sr *Harry Vane*; and one whom they had raised to that Command in the Fleet, that they might be sure to have the Sea-men still at their devotion. This Man, with his whole Squadron, came into the River, and declared for the Parliament; which was so unexpected, that they would not believe it; but sent Sr *Harry Vane*, and two others of great intimacy with *Lawson*, to con-fer

Lawson and the Fleet declares for the Parliament; and come into the River.

fer with him; who, when they came to the Fleet, found S^r *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, and two others, Members of the Parliament, who had ſo fully prepoſſeſſed him, that he was deaf to all their Charms; and told them, "That he would ſubmit "to no Authority but that of the Parliament.

UPON the Fame of this, *Haſlerig* and *Morley* reſolv'd with their Troops to leave *Portſmouth*, and to march towards *London*, where their Friends now prevail'd ſo much. And the news of this march raiſed new thoughts in thoſe Soldiers who had been left by *Lambert* to execute any Orders, which they ſhould receive from *the Committee of Safety*. The Officers of theſe Regiments had been Caſhier'd by the Council of Officers, or *the Committee of Safety*, for adhering to the Parliament; and their Commands having been given to other Men, who had been diſcountenanced by the Parliament, the Regiments for a time appear'd as much confirm'd in the Intereſt of the Army, as could be wiſhed. But theſe Caſhier'd Officers, upon ſo great Revolutions in the City and the Navy, and the News of the Advance of *Haſlerig* and *Morley*, reſolv'd to confer with their old Soldiers, and try whether they had as much Credit with them as their new Officers; and found ſo much encouragement, that at a time appointed, they put themſelves into the Heads of their Regiments, and march'd with them into the Field; whence, after a ſhort conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to deſert the Parliament, they all march'd into *Chancery*-Lane to the Houſe of the Speaker; and profeſſed their reſolution to live and die with the Parliament, and never more to ſwerve from their Fidelity to it.

Haſlerig and Morley march from Portſmouth towards London.

The Soldiers in London reſolve to reſtore the Parliament; and wait on the Speaker.

LAMBERT, upon the firſt News of the froward Spirit in the City, had ſent back *Desborough*'s Regiment, which was now march'd as near *London* as S^t *Albans*; where, hearing what their fellows at *Weſtminſter*, with whom they were to joyn, had done, they reſolv'd not to be the laſt in their Submiſſion; but declared that they likewiſe were for the Parliament; and gave the Speaker notice of their Obedience. In all theſe ſeveral Tergiverſations of the Soldiers, General *Fleetwood* remain'd ſtill in conſultations with *the Committee of Safety*; and when any Intelligence was brought of any murmur amongſt the Soldiers, by which a revolt might enſue, and he was deſired to go amongſt them to confirm them, he would fall upon his Knees to his Prayers, and could hardly be prevail'd with to go to them. And when he was amongſt them, and in the middle of any diſcourſe, he would invite them all to Prayers, and put himſelf upon his Knees before them: And when ſome of his Friends importun'd him to appear more vigorous in the Charge he had, without which

Desborough's Regiment revolts to the Parliament.

The behaviour of Fleetwood at this time.

they must be all destroy'd, they could get no other answer from him, than "That God had spit in his Face, and would "not hear him: So that Men ceased to wonder why *Lambert* had preferr'd him to the Office of General, and been content with the second Command for himself.

Lenthal goes into the City.

LENTHAL the Speaker, upon this new Declaration of the Soldiers, recover'd his Spirit, and went into the City, conferr'd with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and declared to them, "That the Parliament would meet (though not immediately) "within very few days. For, as the Members were not many, who were alive, and suffer'd to meet as the Parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his own Authority, remov'd the Lieutenant, who had been confirm'd there by *the Committee of Safety*; and put Sr *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and other Members of the Parliament, into the Government and Command of the Tower.

Changes the Command of the Tower.

The Parliament meets again at Westminster.

ALL things being in this good order, He and the Members met again together at *Westminster* on *December* the 26th, and assum'd the Government of the three Kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. Assoon as they came together, they repeal'd their Act against the payment of Excise and Customs; and put those Collections into the state they had been formerly in, that they might be sure not to be without Money to pay their Proselyte Forces, and to carry on their other Expences. Then they appointed Commissioners to direct the Quarters into which the Army should be put; and made an Order, that all the Troops under the Command of *Lambert*, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those Quarters to which they were assign'd.

They order Lambert's Troops to their several Quarters.

THIS Man was now in a disconsolate condition: As *Monk* approach'd nearer to him, very many of his Soldiers deserted him and went to the other. The Lord *Fairfax* had raised Forces and possessed himself of *York*, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last Order of the Parliament so entirely strip'd *Lambert* of his Army, that there remain'd not with him above one hundred Horse; all the rest return'd to their Quarters with all quietness and resignation; and himself was some time after committed to the Tower. The rest of the Officers of the Army, who had been formerly Cashier'd by the Parliament, and had resum'd their Commands that they might break it, were again dismissed from their Charges, and committed Prisoners to their own Houses. Sr *Harry Vane*, and divers other Members of the House who had concurr'd with *the Committee of Safety*, were likewise confin'd to their own Houses: So that the Parliament seem'd now again

Lambert's Army separates; and He is committed to the Tower. Vane and Others who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, confin'd to their own Houses.

again poſſeſſed of a more abſolute Authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of oppoſition, or contradiction.

THE other Changes and Fluctuations had ſtill adminiſter'd ſome hopes to the King, and the daily breaking out of new Animoſities amongſt the Chief Miniſters of the former Miſchiefs, diſpoſed Men to believe that the Government might at laſt reſt upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very ſharp Engagement between *Lambert* and *Monk* might make their parts of the Army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all Parties would be at laſt obliged to conſent to a new Parliament; in the Election whereof there was a reaſonable belief, that the general temper of the People would chooſe Sober and Wiſe Men, who would rather bind up the Wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. *The Committee of Safety* had neither receiv'd the Reverence, nor inculcated the Fear, which any Government muſt do, that was to laſt any time. But this ſurpriſing Reſurrection of the Parliament, that had been ſo often exploded, ſo often dead and buried, and was the only Image of Power that was moſt formidable to the King and his Party, ſeem'd to pull up all their hopes by the Roots, and was interpreted by that Party, as an Act of Providence to eſtabliſh their Monſtrous Murders and Uſurpation. And it may be juſtly ſaid, and tranſmitted as a truth to Poſterity, that there were very few, Men, who bore a part in theſe Changes and giddy Revolutions, who had the leaſt purpoſe or thought to contribute towards the King's Reſtoration, or who wiſh'd well to his Intereſt; they who did ſo, being ſo totally ſuppreſſed and diſpirited, that they were only at gaze, what Light might break out of this Darkneſs, and what order Providence might produce out of this Confuſion. This was the true State of Affairs when the King return'd from *Fuentarabia* to *Bruſſels*, or within few days after; and therefore 'tis no wonder, that there was that dejection of Spirit upon thoſe about his Majeſty; and that the Duke of *York*, who ſaw ſo little hope of returning into *England*, was well pleaſed with the Condition that was offer'd him in *Spain*, and that his Servants were impatient to find him in poſſeſſion of it.

Upon this return of the Parliament the King's Affairs ſeem'd more deſperate.

The condition of the King at Bruſſels.

WHILST the diviſions had continued in the Army, and the Parliament ſeem'd entirely depoſed and laid aſide, and no body imagin'd a poſſibility of any compoſition without Blood, the Cardinal himſelf, as is ſaid before, and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, ſeem'd ready and prepared to advance any deſign of the King's. But when they ſaw all thoſe contentions and raging Animoſities compoſed, or ſuppreſſed, without one broken Head, and thoſe very Men again in poſſeſſion of the

Government and the Army, who had been ſo ſcornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpoſe, to level all thoſe prehemineneces which had overlooked them, they looked upon the Parliament as more ſecurely ſettled againſt Domeſtick diſturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their Neighbours, than it had been under *Cromwell* himſelf; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm Alliances with it.

THERE remain'd only within the King's own Breaſt ſome faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that *Monk*'s march into *England* might yet produce ſome Alteration. His Majeſty had a ſecret Correſpondence with ſome principal Officers in his Army, who were much truſted by him, and had promiſed great Services; and it was preſum'd that they would undertake no ſuch perilous Engagement without His privity and connivance. Beſides, it might be expected from his judgment, that whatever preſent Condition the Governing Party might give him, for the Service he had done, he could not but conclude, that they would be always jealous of the Power they ſaw he was poſſeſſed of, and that an Army that had marched ſo far barely upon his word, would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpoſe he would Conduct them. And it was evident enough that the Parliament reſolv'd to new Model their Army, and to have no Man in any ſuch extent of Command, as to be able to Controle their Counſels. Then his Majeſty knew they were jealous of his Fidelity, how much ſoever they courted him at that time; and therefore *Monk* would think himſelf obliged to provide for his own Safety and Security.

BUT, I ſay, theſe were but faint hopes, grounded upon ſuch probabilities as deſpairing Men are willing to entertain. The truth is, thoſe Officers had honeſt Inclinations; and, as Wiſe Men, had concluded, that, from thoſe frequent Shuffles, ſome Game at laſt might fall out that might prove to the King's Advantage, and ſo were willing to beſpeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the Perſons truſted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appear'd they ever gave the General the leaſt cauſe to imagine they had any ſuch Affection; and if they had, 'tis likely they had paid dearly for it. And it was the King's great happineſs, that the General never own'd his purpoſe to ſerve his Majeſty, till it fell to be in his power, and indeed was the beſt thing in his power to do. If he had declar'd his reſolution ſooner, he had been deſtroy'd himſelf; the whole Machine being ſo infinitely above his ſtrength, that it could be only mov'd by a Divine hand; and

it

it is Glory enough to his Memory, that he was God's Instrument in bringing those mighty things to pass, which, undoubtedly, no one Man living had, of himself, either Wisdom enough to foresee, or Understanding to contrive, or Courage to attempt, and execute.

When the Parliament found themselves at so much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wish'd that General *Monk* was again in his old Quarters in *Scotland*. But as he continued his march towards *London* without expecting their Orders, so they knew not how to Command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great Service: yet they sent to him their desire, "That "a good part of his Forces might be sent back to *Scotland*; and He, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any Work they could have to do in those Northern parts, continued his march with an Army of about five thousand Foot and Horse, consisting of such Persons in whose Affections to him he had full Confidence. When he came to *York*, he found that City in the possession of the Lord *Fairfax*; who receiv'd him with open Arms, as if he had drawn those Forces toge her, and seised upon that place, to prevent the Army's possessing it, and to make *Monk*'s Advance into *England* the less interrupted.

Monk marches towards London.

The Parliament desire, that part of his Forces may be sent back to Scotland.

Monk comes to York.

The truth is, that, upon a Letter from the King, deliver'd to *Fairfax* by Sr *Horatio Townsend*, and with his sole privity, and upon a presumption that General *Monk* brought good Affections with him for his Majesty's Service, that Lord had call'd together some of his old disbanded Officers and Soldiers, and many principal Gentlemen of the Country, and marched in the Head of them into *York*, some time after that *Lambert* was passed towards *New-Castle*, with a full resolution to declare for the King; but when he could not afterwards discover, upon conference with *Monk*, that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the Testimony of his own Conscience, and presently dismissed his Troops, being well contented with having, in the Head of the principal Gentlemen of that large County, presented their desires to the General, first in Person, and afterwards in Writing, "That he "would be instrumental to restore the Nation to Peace and "Security, and to the enjoying those Rights and Liberties, "which by the Law were due to them, and of which they "had been robb'd and depriv'd by so many years distractions; "and that, in order thereunto, he would prevail, either for "the restoring those Members which had been excluded in "the year 1648 by Force and Violence, that they might ex- "ercise that Trust the Kingdom had reposed in them; or "that

The Lord Fairfax's part in this whole business.

"that a free and full Parliament might be called by the Votes "of the People; to which all Subjects had a Right by their "Birth.

Addresses to Monk from all Counties as he passed.

The City sent to him by their Sword-Bearer to the same purpose.

His manner of receiving these Addresses.

THE Principal Persons of all Counties through which the General passed, flocked to him in a Body with Addresses to the same purpose. The City of *London* sent a Letter to him by their Sword-Bearer as far as to *Morpeth*, to offer their Service; and all concluded for a free Parliament, legally chosen by the free Votes of the People. He receiv'd all with much civility, and few words; took all occasions publickly to declare "That nothing should shake his fidelity to the present "Parliament, yet privately assured those, who he thought it necessary should hope well, "That he would procure a free "Parliament: so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.

THE Parliament was far from being confident that *Monk* was above temptation: the manner of his march with such a Body, his receiving so many Addresses from the People, and his Treating Malignants so civilly, startled them much; and though his Professions of fidelity to the Parliament, and referring all determinations to Their Wisdom, had a good Aspect towards them, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were grown to the People, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give some check to that licence of Addresses, and resort of Malignants, they sent two of their Members of most credit with him, *Scot* and *Robinson*, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the Service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance, and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any Delinquents. But this served but to draw more Affronts upon them; for those Gentlemen who were civilly used by the General, would not bear any disrespect from those of whose Persons they had all Contempt; and for the Authority of those who sent them, had no kind of reverence. Assoon as the City knew of the deputing those two Members, they likewise sent four of their principal Citizens, to perform the same Compliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free Parliament, as the remedy all Men desired.

The Parliament sends Scot and Robinson to meet him.

At St. Albans he sent to the Parliament to have the other Regiments remov'd out of Town.

HE continued his march with very few halts, till he came to St *Albans*. There he stopped for some days; and sent to the Parliament, "That he had some apprehension that those Re- "giments and Troops of the Army who had formerly deserted "them, though for the present they were returned to their "obedience, would not live peaceably with his Men; and therefore desired that all the Soldiers (except one or two Regiments, which he named) "Who were then quarter'd in the "*Strand*,

"*Strand*, *Weſtminſter*, or othet Suburbs of the City, might "be preſently removed, and ſent to more diſtant Quarters, "that there might be room for his Army. This Meſſage was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them; and made them ſee their Fate would ſtill be under the force and awe of an Army. However they found it neceſſary to comply; and ſent their Orders to all Soldiers to depart; which with the reaſon and ground of their reſolution, was ſo diſdainfully receiv'd, that a Mutiny did ariſe amongſt the Soldiers; and the Regiment that was Quarter'd in *Somerſet* Houſe, expreſly refuſed to obey thoſe Orders; ſo that there were like to be new Uproars. But their Officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon ſuch an occaſion, were under reſtraint, or abſent: and ſo at laſt all was well compoſed, and Officers and Soldiers removed to the Quarters aſſign'd them, with animoſity enough againſt thoſe who were to ſucceed them in their old ones. And in the beginning of *February*, General *Monk* with his Army marched through the City into the *Strand*, and *Weſtminſter*, where it was Quarter'd; his own Lodgings being provided for him in *White-Hall*.

The Parliament gives Orders accordingly.

Monk marches in about the beginning of February.

He was ſhortly after conducted to the Parliament. There he had a Chair appointed for him to ſit in; and the Speaker made him a Speech to this effect, "That though it was God, "and not Man, who had done this great work, and ought to "have the Glory of it; yet the Influence of that Glory ex- "tended to him the Inſtrument, as a reward of his prudent "and wiſe Conduct: that when their Friends had left them, "and there was a great defection in duty and truſt, ſo that the "whole Nation ſeem'd to be expoſed to the utmoſt ruin; they "diſcern'd, as the Prophet did, a little Cloud afar off, and "in His hand which had diſperſed the Miſeries of theſe Na- "tions, and was become a glorious Mercy to them all: that "the Houſe had a true reſentment of his Service, and return'd "their hearty thanks to Him, and all his Officers and Sol- "diers.

He is conducted to the Parliament and complimented by the Speaker.

The General was not a Man of Eloquence or Volubility of Speech; but after having thanked them, "For the honour "they had done him for but doing his duty; he told them, "that, in his march from *Scotland*, ſeveral Applications, with "numerous Subſcriptions, had been made to him, for a full "and free Parliament, for admittance of the ſecluded Mem- "bers without any previous Oath or Engagement; and that "this Parliament would determine their Sitting: to all which "he had anſwer'd, That they were now a free Parliament; "and that they had voted to fill up their Houſe, and then "they would be a full Parliament; and that they had already "determin'd their Sitting. But as for the ſecluded Members,

Monk's Reply.

"this

"this Parliament had already given judgment in it, in which "all People ought to acquiesce; and that to admit any Mem- "bers to sit in Parliament, without a previous Oath to pre- "serve the Government in being, was never done in *England*. "But now he craved pardon to say to themselves, that the "less Oaths or Engagements were imposed, their Settlement "would be the sooner attain'd to: that He knew, all the so- "ber Gentry would close with them, if they might be ten- "derly and gently used: that it was their common Concern- "ment to amplify, not to lessen, their Interest, and to be care- "ful that neither the Cavalier nor the Fanatick Party should "have yet a share in the Civil, or Military Power.

THE rest of his Speech concern'd *Ireland*, and *Scotland*. And all being spoken with more than his natural warmth, there were some Expressions in it which they disliked. But others gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wish'd that he was again in *Scotland*, and that they had been left to contend with the Malignity of their old Army; and they watched for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

THE late confusions and interruptions of all publick receipts had wholly emptied their Coffers, out of which the Army, and all other expences, were to be supplied. And though the Parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their Ordinances for all Collections and Payments, yet Money came in very slowly; and the People generally had so little reverence for their Legislators, that they gave very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obey'd, to require the City presently to collect and bring in the Arrears of their Taxes, and in the mean time to borrow a considerable Sum of Money of them; which could not be easily done but by the advice, and with the consent of the Common-Council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly, and peaceably, without their distribution.

The Common Council of the City are refractory to the Parliament.

THE Common-Council was constituted of such Persons as were weary of the Parliament, and would in no degree submit to, or comply with any of their Commands. They did not only utterly refuse to consent to what was demanded, but, in the debate of it, excepted against the Authority, and, upon the matter, declar'd, "That they would never submit to any Im- "position that was not granted by a free and lawful Parliament. And it was generally believ'd, that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the General; and the Apprehension of this, made the Parliament to be in the greater

greater perplexity and distraction. This refusal would immediately have put an end to their Empire; they therefore resolved upon this occasion to make a full Experiment of their own power, and of their General's obedience.

THE Parliament having received a full information from those Aldermen, and others, whose Interest was bound up with theirs, of all that had passed at the Common-Council, and of the seditious discourses and expressions made by several of the Citizens, referr'd it to the consideration of the Council of State, what was fit to be done towards the Rebellious City, to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the Parliament. The Council of State deliberated upon the matter, and return'd their Advice to the Parliament, "That some part of the Army might be sent into the City, and "remain there, to preserve the peace thereof, and of the "Common-wealth, and to reduce it to the obedience of the "Parliament. In Order thereunto, and for their better humi-"liation, they thought it convenient that the Posts and Chains "should be removed from, and out of the several Streets of the "City; and that the Portcullises, and Gates of the City, "should be taken down and broken. Over and above this, they named ten or eleven Persons, who had been the principal Conductors in the Common-Council, all Citizens of great reputation; and advised "That they should be apprehended and "committed to Prison, and that thereupon a new Common-"Council might be erected, that would be more at their De-"votion.

THIS round advice was embraced by the Parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their General, and commanded him to march into the City with his Army; and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their Service; and He as readily executed their Commands; led his Army into the Town on *Feb.* the 9th, neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them) caused as many, as he could, of those who were so proscribed to be apprehended, and sent them to the Tower; and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pull'd down and broke the Gates and Portcullises, to the confusion and consternation of the whole City; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it, he return'd Himself to *White-Hall*, and his Army to their former Quarters. And by this last Act of compliance he frustrated the present hopes of those who had expected better from him, and confirm'd his Masters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant Injunctions. And many at that time feared, that

Monk sent into the City to reduce it to obedience.

Returns to White-Hall.

that if the Parliament had cultivated this tame resignation of his, with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condescention from him, at least no opposition to all their other Counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the ways to their own preservation.

The Parliament resolve to joyn others in Commission with him, and receive a Petition by Barebone *from the* Fanaticks.

WHILST He was executing this their Tyranny upon the City, They were contriving how to lessen his Power and Authority, and resolv'd to joyn others with him in the Command of the Army; and, upon that very day, they receiv'd a Petition, which they had fomented, presented to the Parliament by a Man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mention'd, *Praise-God Barebone*, in the head of a crowd of Sectaries. The Petition begun with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the Memory of the late King, and against the Person of the present King, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry of the Kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter Extirpation of all which it pressed with great Acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new Parliament, at least of admitting those Members to sit in the present Parliament, who had been excluded in the year 1648; "Either of which, the Petitioners said, "would prove the inevitable destruction of all the Godly in "the Land: and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, "That no Person whatsoever might be admitted to the "exercise of any Office or Function in the State, or in the "Church, no not so much as to teach a School, who did not "first take the Oath of Abjuration of the King, and of all his "Family, and that he would never submit to the Govern-"ment of any One single Person whatsoever; and that who-"soever should presume so much as to propose, or mention "the Restoration of the King in Parliament, or any other "place, should be adjudged guilty of, and condemn'd for High "Treason.

Monk's chief Officers discontented at this neglect of the Parliament of their General.

THIS Petition was receiv'd with great approbation by the House, their Affection much applauded, and the thanks of the Parliament very solemnly return'd by the Speaker: all which information the General receiv'd at *White-Hall*, when he return'd out of the City; and was presently attended by his chief Officers; who with open mouths, inveigh'd against the proceedings of the Parliament, "Their manifest ingratitude "to him, and the indignity offer'd to him, in giving such "countenance to a rabble of infamous Varlets, who desired "to set the whole Kingdom in a flame, to comply with their "Fanatick and mad Enthusiasms; and that the Parliament "would never have admitted such an infamous Address with

"appro-

"approbation, except they had first resolv'd upon his Ruin "and destruction; which he was assuredly to look for, if he "did not prevent it by his Wisdom, and Sagacity; and there-upon told him of the under-hand Endeavours which were used to work upon the Affections of the Soldiers.

THE General had been prepared, by the conferences of *Scot* and *Robinson* in the march, to expect, that, assoon as he came to the Parliament, he must take the Oath of Abjuration, of the King and his Family. And therefore they had advised him "To offer the taking it himself, before it should be pro-"posed to him, as a matter that would confirm all Men in an "entire confidence in him. When he came to the Parlia-ment, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day de-dicated only to caress him, and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this last op-portunity, which they look'd upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and they thought he had not then taken any such resolution, as would have made him pause in the giving them that satisfaction. But being now awaken'd by this Alarm from his Officers, and the temper they were in, and his flegm a little curdled, he begun to think himself in danger; and that this body of Men, that was called the Par-liament, had not reputation enough to preserve themselves, and those who adher'd to them. He had observ'd throughout the Kingdom, as he march'd, how despicable they were in the estimation of all men, who gave them no other term or appellation but the *Rump*, as the fag end of a Carcase long since expired. All that night was spent in consultation with his Officers; nor did he then form any other design than so to unite his Army to him that they might not leave him in any resolution he should think fit to take.

This awak-ens him.

IN the morning, which was very soon after he had broken the Gates and the Hearts of the City, he called his Army a-gain together, and marched with it into *London*, taking up his own Quarters at an Alderman's House. At the same time he left *White-Hall*, he sent a Letter to the Parliament, in which he roundly took notice of "Their unreasonable, un-"just, and unpolitick proceedings; of their abetting and "countenancing wicked, and unchristian Tenents in reference "to Religion, and such as would root out the practice of "any Religion, of their underhand corresponding with those "very Persons whom they had declared to be Enemies, and "who had been principally instrumental in all the affronts "and Indignities they had undergone, in and after their dis-"solution. Thereupon he advised them in such Terms as they could not but understand for the most peremptory Com-mand,

He marches again into the City, and sends an ex-postulatory Letter to the Parliament.

mand, "That, in such a time (a time prescribed in his Letter) "they would issue out Writs for a new Parliament, that so "their own sitting might be determined; which was the "only Expedient, that could return Peace and Happiness to "the Kingdom, and which both the Army and Kingdom ex- "pected at their hands. This Letter was no sooner deliver'd to the House, than it was Printed, and carefully published, and dispersed throughout the City, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed, might see how throughly he was Embarked, and so entertain no new Jealousies of him.

His Letter to the Parliament printed and dispersed.

After he had dined with the Lord Mayor, and disposed his Army in such a manner and order as he thought fit, he desired Him and the Aldermen, with the Common Council, to meet him at the *Guild-Hall*; where after many Excuses for the work of the other day, they plighted their Troth each to other in such a manner, for the perfect Union and adhering to each other for the future, that, assoon as they came from thence, the Lord Mayor attended the General to his Lodgings, and all the Bells of the City proclaim'd, and testified to the Town and Kingdom, that the Army and the City were of one mind. And assoon as the Evening came, there was a continual light of Bone-fires throughout the City and Suburbs, with such an universal Exclamation of Joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous signs of Scorn and Contempt of the Parliament, as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it; there being scarce a Bone-fire at which they did not roast a Rump, and pieces of flesh made like one; "Which they said, "Was for the Celebration of the Funeral of the Par- "liament: and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that Night exercised to defame the Parliament, and to magnify the General.

He meets the Lord Mayor and Common Council, excuses what was past, and promises to stand by them, and They by him. Great rejoycing in the City upon it.

In such a huddle and mixture of loose People of all Conditions, and such a transport of Affections, it could not be otherwise but that some Men would drink the King's Health; which was taken no notice of; nor was it known that one Person of Condition did once presume to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the Parliament, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceed in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their General again to them; and, to that purpose, they sent a Committee to treat with him, and to make all such profers to him as they conceiv'd were most like to comply with his Ambition. The entertainment he gave this Committee, was the engaging them in a conference with another Committee of the secluded Members

The Parliament sent some Members to treat with him. He engages them in a conference with some secluded Members.

Members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to sit there as a Parliament, and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, "That in justice the secluded "Members ought to be admitted before the calling another "Parliament, and the dissolution of this.

He returns to White-Hall.

AFTER He had put the City into the posture they desired and found no danger threaten'd him from thence, he return'd again to his Quarters in *White-Hall*, and disposed his Army to those Posts which he judged most convenient. He then sent for the Members of the Parliament to come to him, and many others who had been excluded, and lamented, "The "sad Condition the Kingdom was in, which he principally "imputed to the disunion, and divisions, which had arisen "in Parliament among those who were faithful to the Com-"mon-wealth: that he had had many Conferences with them "together, and was satisfied by those Gentlemen, who had "been Excluded, of their Integrity; and therefore he had de-"sired this Conference between them, that he might commu-"nicate his own thoughts to them; in doing whereof, that he "might not be mistaken in his Delivery, or misapprehended "in his Expressions, as he had lately been, he had put what "he had a mind to say in writing; which he commanded his Secretary to read to them: and was as follows.

Sends for the Members of both Parties.

He delivers his mind to them in a paper.

"Gentlemen,

"YOU are not, I hope, Ignorant, what care and endea-"vours have been used, and means essay'd, for healing the "breaches of our divisions amongst our selves; and that in "order thereunto divers Conferences have been procured be-"tween you, though to small effect; yet having at length re-"ceiv'd fuller satisfaction, from those worthy Gentlemen that "were secluded, than formerly; I was bold to put you all to "the trouble of this meeting, that I might open my self to "you all, even with more freedom than formerly: but lest I "might be misapprehended or mistaken, as of late it befell "me, I have committed to writing the Heads of what I in-"tended to discourse to you, and desire it may be read openly "to you all.

"Gentlemen,

"IT appears unto me, by what I have heard from You and "the whole Nation, that the Peace and happy Settlement of "these bleeding Nations, next under God, lieth in Your "hands. And when I consider that Wisdom, Piety, and Self-"denial, which I have reason to be confident, lodgeth in you, "and how great a share of the Nations Sufferings will fall

"upon you, in case the Lord deny us now a Settlement, I am "in very good hopes, there will be found in you all, such "melting Bowels towards these poor Nations, and towards "one another, that you will become Healers and makers up, "of all its woful Breaches. And that such an opportunity "might clearly appear to be in Your hands, I thought good to "assure you, and that in the presence of God, that I have no- "thing before my Eyes but God's Glory, and the Settlement "of these Nations upon Common-wealth Foundations. In "pursuit whereof I shall think nothing too dear; and for my "Own particular, I shall throw my self down at Your Feet "to be any thing or nothing in order to these great Ends. As "to the way of future Settlement, far be it from Me to im- "pose any thing; I desire you may be in perfect freedom; "only give me leave to mind You, that the Old Foundations "are by God's Providence so broken, that, in the eye of rea- "son, they cannot be restored but upon the Ruins of the Peo- "ple of these Nations, that have engaged for their Rights, in "defence of the Parliament, and the great and main ends of "the Covenant, for uniting and making the Lord's Name "One in the Three Nations: and also the Liberty of the Peo- "ple's Representative's in Parliament will be certainly lost; "for if the People find, that after so long and bloody a War "against the King for breaking in upon their Liberties, yet at "last He must be taken in again, it will be out of question, "and is most manifest, He may for the future govern by his "Will, dispose of Parliaments and Parliament Men, as He "pleaseth, and yet the People will never more rise for As- "sistance.

"And as to the Interest of this Famous City (which hath "been in all Ages the Bulwark of Parliaments, and unto "whom I am for their great Affection so deeply engaged) "certainly it must lye in a Common-wealth; that Govern- "ment only being capable to make them, through the Lord's "Blessing, the Metropolis and Bank of the Trade for all "*Christendom*; whereunto God and Nature hath fitted them "above others.

"And as to a Government in the Church, the want "whereof hath been no small Cause of these Nations distra- "ctions, it is most manifest, that if it be Monarchical in the "State, the Church must follow, and Prelacy must be "brought in; which these Nations, I know, cannot bear, and "against which they have so solemnly Sworn.

"And indeed moderate, not rigid Presbyterian Govern- "ment, with a sufficient Liberty for Consciences truly tender, "appears at present to be the most indifferent and acceptable "way to the Church's Settlement.

"The

"THE main thing that seems to lye in the way, is the "Intereſt of the Lords, even of thoſe Lords who have ſhew'd "themſelves Noble indeed, by joyning with the People, and "in defence of thoſe juſt Rights have adventured their deareſt "Blood and large Eſtates. To that I ſhall only ſay, that "though the ſtate of theſe Nations be ſuch, as cannot bear "their Sitting in a diſtinct Houſe; yet, certainly, the Wiſdom "of Parliament will find out ſuch Hereditary Marks of Ho-"nour for them, as may make them more Noble in after "Ages.

"Gentlemen,

"UPON the whole matter, the beſt reſult that I can make "at preſent for the Peace of theſe Nations, will be, in my "opinion, that you forthwith go to ſit together in Parliament, "in order,

1. "To the ſettling the Conduct of the Armies of the "Three Nations in that manner, as they may be ſerviceable "to the Peace and Safety of them, and not to its own, and the "Nation's ruin, by Faction and Diviſion.

2. "To the providing ſufficient maintenance for them; "that is, for the Forces by Land, and for the Navy by "Sea, and all the Arrears of both, and other contingencies of "the Government.

3. "To the appointing a Council of State with Authority "to ſettle the Civil Government and Judicatories in *Scotland* "and *Ireland*, and to take care for the iſſuing of Writs for "the Summoning a Parliament of theſe Three Nations united, "to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 20th day of *April* next, with ſuch "Qualifications as may ſecure the Publick Cauſe we are all "engaged in, and according to ſuch diſtributions as were uſed "in the Year 1654. Which Parliament ſo called, may meet "and act in freedom, for the more full Eſtabliſhing of this "Common-wealth, without a King, ſingle Perſon, or Houſe "of Lords.

4. "To a Legal Diſſolution of this Parliament, to make "way for Succeſſion of Parliaments.

"AND in order to theſe good Ends, the Guards will not "only willingly admit you, but faithfully both my ſelf, and "every the Officers under my Command; and I believe the "Officers and Soldiers of the Three Nations will ſpend their "Blood for you and ſucceſſive Parliaments.

"IF Your Conjunction be directed to this end, you may "part Honourably, having made a fair ſtep to the Settle-"ment of theſe Nations, by making a way for ſucceſſive Par-"liaments.

"BUT I muſt needs ſay, that if any different Councel

"should be taken (which I have no reason to fear) these "Nations would presently be thrown back into Force and "Violence, and all hopes of this much desired Establishment "buried in disorder; which the Lord in his great Mercy I "hope will prevent. And so God speed you well together, "and unite your hearts for the preservation of Peace and Set- "tlement of these Nations, to his Glory and Yours, and all "our Comforts.

DIVERS who heard this, thought there was no dissimulation in it, in order to cover and conceal his good intentions for the King: for, without doubt, he had not to this hour seem'd to them to have any purpose, or thought to serve him, but appear'd to be really of the opinion he expressed in his Paper, that it was a work impossible. So that they thought he desired nothing, but that he might see a Common-wealth establish'd in such a Model as *Holland* was, where he had been bred; and that himself might enjoy the Authority and place which the Prince of *Orange* possessed in that Government. He had not, from his marching out of *Scotland* to this time, had much publick conversation with any Persons who had serv'd the King; nor had he hitherto, or, for some time after, did he set one of the King's Friends at Liberty, though all the Prisons were full of them; but on the contrary, they were every day committed by the Rump-Parliament; and with them it was guilt enough to be suspected but to wish for the King's Restoration.

ASSOON as the Conference above mention'd was ended with the Members of the Parliament, They who had been excluded from the year 1648, repair'd to the House on *Feb.* the 21st, and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places; and being superior in number to the rest, they first repealed and abolish'd all the Orders by which they had been excluded; then they provided for Him who had so well provided for Them, by renewing and enlarging the General's Commission, and revoking all other Commissions which had been granted to any to meddle with or assign Quarters to any part of the Forces.

The secluded Members go to the House.

Their transactions there.

THEY who had sate before, had put the whole Militia of the Kingdom into the hands of Sectaries, Persons generally of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new Tenent in Religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the King's Party. All these Commissions were revoked, and the Militia put under the Government of the Nobility, and principal Gentry throughout the Kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no Person should be capable of being trusted in that Province, who did not first declare under his hand,

hand, "That he did confeſs, and acknowledge, that the War "raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament againſt the late "King, was juſt, and lawful, until ſuch time as force and vio-"lence was uſed upon the Parliament in the year 1648.

In the laſt place, they raiſed an Aſſeſſment of one hundred thouſand pounds by the Month, for the payment of the Army, and defraying the Publick expences for ſix Months, to which the whole Kingdom willingly ſubmitted; and the City of *London*, upon the credit and ſecurity of that Act, advanced as much ready Money as they were deſired; and having thus far redreſſed what was paſt, and provided as well as they could for the future, they iſſued out Writs to call a Parliament, to meet upon the five and twentieth day of *April* next enſuing (being *April* 1660) and then, on the ſixteenth, or ſeventeenth day of *March*, after they had appointed a Council of State, of which there were many ſober and honeſt Gentlemen, who did not wiſh the King ill, they diſſolv'd that preſent Parliament, againſt all the importunities uſed by the Sectaries (who in Multitudes flock'd together, and made Addreſſes in the Name of their Party in the City of *London*, that they would not diſſolve themſelves) but to the unſpeakable Joy of all the reſt of the Kingdom; who, notwithſtanding their very different affections, expectations, and deſigns, were unanimous in their wearineſs and deteſtation of the long Parliament.

They iſſue Writs for a New Parliament: and diſſolve themſelves, and appoint a New Council of State.

When the King, who had rather an imagination, than an expectation, that the march of General *Monk* to *London* with his Army might produce ſome alteration that might be uſeful to him, heard of his entire ſubmiſſion to the Parliament, and of his entring the City, and diſarming it, the Commitment of the principal Citizens, and breaking their Gates and Portcculliſes, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguiſhed, and he had nothing left before his Eyes but a perpetual Exile, attended with all thoſe diſcomforts, whereof he had too long Experience, and which he muſt now expect, would be improved with the worſt circumſtances of neglect, which uſed to wait upon that condition. A greater conſternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagin'd than at that time cover'd the ſmall Court of the King; but God did not ſuffer him long to be wrapp'd up in that melancholick Cloud. As the General's ſecond march into the City was within two or three days after his firſt, and diſpell'd the miſts and fogs which the other had raiſed, ſo the very Evening of that day which had brought the News of the firſt in the Morning, brought likewiſe an Account to his Majeſty of the ſecond, with all the circumſtances of Bells, and Bone-fires, and burning of Rumps, and ſuch other Additions, as might reaſonably be true, and which a willing Relator would not omit.

The King's Affairs at Bruſſels during this time.

The King hears on the ſame day of both the marches if the General into the City.

When it begun to be dark, the Lord Marquis of *Ormond* brought a young Man with him to the Chancellor's Lodging at *Bruſſels*; which was under the King's Bed-Chamber, and to which his Majeſty every day vouchſafed to come for the diſpatch of any Buſineſs. The Marquis ſaid no more but "That "that Man had formerly been an Officer under him, and he "believed he was an honeſt Man; beſides, that he brought a "line or two of Credit from a Perſon they would both be- "lieve; but that his diſcourſe was ſo ſtrange and extrava- "gant, that he knew not what to think of it; however, he "would call the King to judge; and ſo went out of the Room leaving the Man there, and immediately return'd with the King.

The Man's name was *Baily*; who had liv'd moſt in *Ireland*, and had ſerv'd there as a Foot Officer under the Marquis. He look'd as if he had drank much, or ſlept little: his Relation was, "That in the Afternoon of ſuch a day, he was with "Sr *John Stephens* in *Lambeth* Houſe, uſed then as a Priſon for "many of the King's Friends; where, whilſt they were in "conference together, News was brought into the Houſe by "ſeveral Perſons, that the General was marched with his "whole Army into the City (it being within two or three "days after he had been there, and broke down their Gates, "and pull'd down their Poſts) and that he had a conference "with the Mayor and Aldermen; which was no ſooner end- "ed, but that all the City Bells rang out; and He heard the "Bells very plain at *Lambeth*: and that he ſtaid there ſo late, "till they ſaw the Bone-fires burning and flaming in the City: "upon which Sr *John Stephens* had deſir'd him, that he would "immediately croſs the River, and go into *London*, and in- "quire what the matter was, and if he found any thing extra- "ordinary in it, that he would take Poſt, and make all poſſi- "ble haſte to *Bruſſels*, that the King might be inform'd of it; "and ſo gave him a ſhort Note in Writing to the Marquis of "*Ormond*, that he might believe all that the Meſſenger would "inform him: that thereupon he went over the River, walked "through *Cheap-ſide*, ſaw the Bone-fires, and the King's health "drank in ſeveral places, heard all that the General had done, "and brought a Copy of the Letter which the General had "ſent to the Parliament, at the time when he return'd with "his Army into the City; and then told many things, which "were, he ſaid, "Publickly ſpoken, concerning ſending for "the King: that then he took Poſt for *Dover*, and hired a "Bark that brought him to *Oſtend*.

The time was ſo ſhort from the hour he left *London*, that the expedition of his Journey was incredible; nor could any Man undertake to come from thence in ſo ſhort a time, upon the

the moſt important Affair, and for the greateſt reward. It was evident by many pauſes and heſitations in his diſcourſe, and ſome Repetitions, that the Man was not compoſed, and at beſt wanted ſleep; yet his Relation could not be a meer fiction and imagination. Sr *John Stephens* was a Man well known to his Majeſty, and the other two; and had been ſent over lately by the King, with ſome advice to his Friends; and it was well known, that he had been apprehended at his Landing, and was ſent Priſoner to *Lambeth* Houſe. And though he had not mention'd in his Note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the Man's own Devotion to the King could reaſonably tempt him to undertake ſo hazardous and chargeable a Journey. Then the General's Letter to the Parliament was of the higheſt moment, and not like to be feign'd; and upon the whole matter, the King thought he had Argument to raiſe his own Spirits, and that he ſhould do but juſtly in communicating his Intelligence to his diſpirited Family, and Servants; who, upon the News thereof, were revived proportionably to the deſpair they had ſwallow'd; and, according to the temper of Men who had lain under long diſconſolation, thought all their Sufferings over; and laid in a ſtock of ſuch vaſt hopes, as would be very hard for any ſucceſs to procure ſatisfaction for.

But the King, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreſh'd with this unexpected Alteration, was yet reſtrain'd from any confidence that this would produce any ſuch Revolution as would be ſufficient to do his work; towards which he ſaw cauſe enough to deſpair of aſſiſtance from any Forreign power. The moſt that he could collect from the General's Letter, beſides the ſuppreſſing the preſent Tyranny of the Rump Parliament, was, that, poſſibly, at laſt the excluded Members might be again admitted, and it may be, able to govern that Council. And even this Adminiſter'd no ſolid ground of comfort or confidence to his Majeſty. Several of thoſe excluded Members had not been true Members of Parliament, but elected, after the end of the War, into Their places who had been expelled for adhering to the King; and ſo they had no title to ſit there, but what the Counterfeit Great Seal had given them, without, and againſt the King's Authority. It was thought theſe Men, with others who had been Lawfully choſen, were willing, and deſirous, that the Conceſſions made by the late King at the Iſle of *Wight* might be accepted; which in truth did, with the preſervation of the Name and Life of the King, near as much eſtabliſh a Republican Government, as was ſettled after his Murther; and becauſe they would inſiſt upon that, they were, with thoſe circumſtances of force and violence, which are

formerly mention'd, excluded from the House; without which that horrid Villany could never have been committed.

Now what could the King reasonably expect from these Men's readmission into the Government, but that they would resume their old Conclusions, and press him to consent to his Father's Concessions? which his late Majesty yielded to with much less chearfulness, than he walked to the Scaffold; though it was upon the promise of many powerful Men then in the Parliament, "That he should not be obliged to accomplish "that Agreement. These Revolvings wrought much upon his Majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther Account from *London* of the Revolutions there.

INDEED, when all his Majesty had heard before, was confirm'd by several Expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his Friends, who had recover'd their Courage to the full, and discern'd that these excluded Members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a New Parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, the King recover'd his hopes again; which were every day increased by the Addresses of many Men, who had never before applied themselves to him; and many sent to him for his Majesty's Approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next Parliament. And from the time that the Parliament was dissolv'd, the Council of State behaved themselves very civilly towards his Majesty's Friends, and released many of them out of Prison: particularly *Annesley*, when President of the Council, was very well contented that the King should receive particular Information of His Devotion, and of his Resolution to do him Service; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the Courage to receive a Letter from his Majesty, and return'd a dutiful Answer to it: all which had a very good aspect, and seem'd to promise much good. Yet the King knew not what to think of the General's Paper, which he had deliver'd at his Conference with the Members; for which he could seem to have no temptation, but his violent Affection to a Common-wealth. Few or none of his Majesty's Friends could find any means of address to him; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the King had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the King, "Of what importance it would be, that he "gave them some credit, or means of Access to the General, "by which they might receive his Order and Direction in "such things as occurr'd on the suddain, and that they might "be

Many now apply to the King. The Council of State's kind behaviour now to the King's Friends.

"be sure to do nothing that might cross any purpose of His. To which the King return'd no other Answer, "But that "they should have patience, and make no attempt whatso-"ever; and that in due time they should receive all Adver-"tisements necessary; it being not thought fit to disclaim having intelligence with, or hopes of the General; since it was very evident, that the receiv'd opinion, that he did design to serve the King, or that he would be at last obliged to do it, whether he design'd to do it or no, did really as much contribute to the Advancement of his Majesty's Service, as if he had dedicated himself to it. And the Assurance, that the other Party thought they had, that he had no such Intention, hinder'd those obstructions, jealousies, and interruptions, which very probably might have lessen'd his credit with his own Army, or united all the rest of the Forces against him.

THERE happen'd likewise at this time a business that very much troubled the King, and might very probably have destroy'd all the hopes that began to flatter him. Upon the Dissolution of the Parliament, which put an end to all the Power and Authority of those who had been the chief Instruments of all the monstrous things which had been done, the highest despair seised upon all who had been the late King's Judges; who were sure to find as hard measure from the secluded Members, as they were to expect if the King himself had been restored. And all they who had afterwards concurr'd with them, and exercised the same power, who were call'd the *Rump*, believ'd their ruin and destruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the assembling a new Parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the Rump Members would again resume the Government, notwithstanding their Dissolution by the power of the secluded Members; who would then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

TO this purpose, they employ'd their Agents amongst the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, who had been disgracefully remov'd from their Quarters in the *Strand*, and *Westminster*, and the parts adjacent to *London*, to make room for General *Monk*'s Army; which was now look'd upon as the sole Confiding part of the Army. And they inflamed these Men with the sense of their own desperate condition; who, having served throughout the War, should, besides the loss of all the Arrears of Pay due to them, be now offer'd as a sacrifice to the Cavaliers, whom they had Conquer'd, and who, they supposed, were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same infusions into the Soldiers of General *Monk*'s Army, who had all the same Title to the same

fears

fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first opportunity, *Lambert* made his escape out of the Tower; his Party having in all places so many of their Combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the General had as great a jealousy of this Man's escape, as of any thing that could fall out to supplant him. And therefore, it may be presumed, he took all possible care to prevent it: and they who then had Command of the place, were notoriously known neither to love *Lambert*'s Person, nor to favour his Designs.

Lambert's escape out of the Tower.

THIS escape of *Lambert* in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the General, and the Council of State, into a great Agony. They knew well what Poyson had been scatter'd about the Army, and what impression it had made in the Soldiers. *Lambert* was the most Popular Man, and had the greatest Influence upon them. And though they had lately deserted him, they had sufficiently publish'd their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and couzen'd them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him, assoon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threaten'd from the very drawing the Army together to a Rendezvous in order to prosecute and oppose him, no Man being able to make a judgment what they would choose to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believ'd, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain conceal'd, till he had digested the Method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the Troops might resort to declare with him, when he should appear (which had been very easy then for him to have done) he would have gone near to have shaken at least, the Model the General had made.

BUT either through the fear of his security, and being betray'd into the hands of his Enemies (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; of which he had experience) or the presumption, that the Army would obey him upon his first call; and that, if he could draw a small part to him, the rest would never appear against him; he precipitated himself to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for Him; and so put it into his Enemy's power to disappoint, and controle all his designs. He staid not at all in *London*, as it was his Interest to have done, but hasten'd into the Country; and trusting a Gentleman in *Buckingham shire*, whom he thought himself sure of, the General had quickly notice

notice in what Quarter he was: yet, with great Expedition, *Lambert* drew four Troops of the Army to him, with which he had the Courage to appear near *Daventry* in *Northampton-ſhire*, a Country famous for diſaffection to the King, and for adhering to the Parliament; where he preſumed he ſhould be attended by other parts of the Army, before it ſhould be known at *White-Hall* where he was, and that any Forces could be ſent from thence againſt him: of which, he doubted not, from his many Friends, he ſhould have ſeaſonable Notice.

He draws four Troops of the Army to him near Daventry.

BUT the General, upon his firſt ſecret intimation of his being in *Buckingham-ſhire*, and of the courſe he meant to take had committed it to the charge and care of Colonel *Ingoldsby* (who was well known to be very willing and deſirous to take revenge upon *Lambert*, for his malice to *Oliver* and *Richard*, and the affront he had himſelf receiv'd from him) to attend and watch all his Motions with his own Regiment of Horſe; which was the more faithful to him for having been before ſeduced by *Lambert* to deſert him. *Ingoldsby*, being joyn'd with a good Body of Foot under Colonel *Streater*, uſed ſo much diligence in waiting upon *Lambert*'s Motion, before he was ſuſpected to be ſo near, that one of *Lambert*'s four Captains fell into the hands of his Forlorne hope; who made him Priſoner, and brought him to their Colonel. The Captain was very well known to *Ingoldsby*; who, after ſome conference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his promiſe, "That he would himſelf retire to his Houſe, and ſend his "Troop to obey his Commands; which promiſe he obſerv'd; and the next day his Troop, under his Cornet and Quarter-Maſter, came to *Ingoldsby*, and inform'd him where *Lambert* was. He thereupon made haſte, and was in his view, before the other had notice that he was purſued by him.

The General ſends Ingoldsby againſt him with his own Regiment and a Body of Foot under Colonel Streater.

One of Lambert's Troops revolts to Ingoldsby.

LAMBERT, ſurpriſed with this diſcovery, and finding that one of his Troops had forſaken him, ſaw his Enemy much ſuperior to him in Number; and therefore ſent to deſire that they might treat together; which the other was content to do. *Lambert* propoſed to him, "That they might reſtore "*Richard* to be Protector; and promiſed to unite all his Credit to the Support of that Intereſt. But *Ingoldsby* (beſides that he well underſtood the folly and impoſſibility of that Undertaking) had devoted himſelf to a better Intereſt; and adher'd to the General, becauſe he preſum'd that He did intend to ſerve the King, and ſo rejected this Overture. Whereupon both Parties prepared to Fight, when another of *Lambert*'s Troops forſaking him, and putting themſelves under his Enemy, he concluded, that his Safety would depend upon his Flight; which he thought to ſecure by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe.

and another alſo.

But

Lambert and his party dispersed. He and others taken.

But *Ingoldsby* keeping his Eye still upon him, and being as well Horsed, overtook him, and made him his Prisoner, after he had in vain used great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to escape.

With him were taken *Cobbet*, *Creed*, and some other Officers of the greatest Interest with the Fanatick part of the Army, and who were most apprehended by the General in a time when all the ways were full of Soldiers endeavouring to repair to them, so that, if they had not been crushed in that instant, they would, in very few days, have appear'd very formidable. *Ingoldsby* return'd to *London*, and brought his Prisoners to the Privy Council; who committed *Lambert* again to the Tower with a stricter Charge, with some other of the Officers; and sent the rest to other Prisons. This very seasonable Victory look'd to all Men, as a happy Omen to the succeeding Parliament; which was to assemble soon after the Prisoners were brought before the Council; and would not have appear'd with the same chearfulness, if *Lambert* had remain'd still in Arms, or, in truth, if he had been still at liberty.

The Parliament's and Council of State's prudent Actions.

In this short Interval between the return of the secluded Members, and the Convention of the new Parliament, many prudent Actions and Alterations, (besides what have been already mention'd) were begun by that Parliament, before it was dissolv'd, and finish'd afterwards by the Council of State; which were good Presages, that the future Councils would proceed with Moderation. They releas'd Sr *George Booth* from his Imprisonment, that he might be Elected to sit in the ensuing Parliament, as he shortly after was; and they set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the King's Party who had shelter'd themselves in obscurity, appear'd now abroad, and conversed without controle, and Mr *Mordaunt*, who was known to be entirely trusted by the King, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the Council, and some Officers of the Army, as *Ingoldsby* and *Huntington*, &c. made, through Him, tender of their Services to the King.

Before the Assembling of the New Parliament, they release Sir George Booth, &c.

They reform the Navy by making Monk and Mountague Admirals.

But that which seem'd of most importance, was the reformation they made in the Navy; which was full of Sectaries, and under the Government of those who of all Men were declared the most Republican. The present Fleet prepared for the Summer Service, was under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Lawson*; an excellent Sea-man, but then a notorious Anabaptist; who had fill'd the Fleet with Officers, and Mariners, of the same principles. And they well remember'd how he had lately besieged the City; and by the power of his Fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin the *Committee*

of

of Safety, and reſtore the Rump-Parliament to the exerciſe of their Juriſdiction; for which he ſtood high in Reputation with all that Party. The Parliament reſolv'd, though they thought it not fit or ſafe to remove *Lawſon*, yet ſo far to eclipſe him, that he ſhould not have it ſo abſoutely in his power to Controle Them, as he had done *the Committee of Safety*. In order to this they concluded, that they would call *Mountague*, who had lain privately in his own Houſe, under a Cloud, and Jealouſy of being inclined too much to the King, and make Him and the General (who was not to be left out in any thing) joynt Admirals of the Fleet; whereby *Mountague* only would go to Sea, and have the Ships under his Command; by which he might take care for good Officers, and Seamen, for ſuch other Ships as they meant to add to the Fleet, and would be able to obſerve, if not reform the reſt. *Mountague* ſent privately over to the King for his Approbation, before he would accept the Charge; which being ſpeedily ſent to him, he came to *London*, and enter'd into that joynt Command with the General; and immediately applied himſelf to put the Fleet into ſo good order, that he might comfortably ſerve in it. Since there was no Man who betook himſelf to his Majeſty's Service with more generoſity than this Gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correſpondence which he held with the King.

An account of Admiral Mountague.

MOUNTAGUE was of a Noble Family, of which ſome were too much addicted to Innovations in Religion, and in the beginning of the Troubles, appear'd againſt the King; though his Father, who had been long a Servant to the Crown, never could be prevail'd upon to ſwerve from his Allegiance, and took all the care he could to reſtrain this his only Son within thoſe limits: but being young, and more out of his Father's Controle by being Married into a Family, which, at that time, alſo trod awry, he was ſo far wrought upon by the Careſſes of *Cromwell*, that, out of pure Affection to him, he was perſwaded to take Command in the Army, when it was new Modell'd under *Fairfax*, and when he was little more than twenty years of Age. He ſerv'd in that Army in the Condition of a Colonel to the end of the War, with the Reputation of a very ſtout and ſober young Man. And from that time *Cromwell*, to whom he paſſionately adhered, took him into his neareſt Confidence, and ſent him, firſt, joyn'd in Commiſſion with *Blake*; and then, in the ſole Command by Sea; in which he was diſcreet and ſucceſsful. And though Men looked upon him as devoted to *Cromwell*'s Intereſt, in all other reſpects he behaved himſelf with civility to all Men, and without the leaſt ſhew of Acrimony towards any who had ſerv'd the King; and was ſo much in love with Monarchy,

chy, that he was one of those who most desired and advised *Cromwell* to accept, and assume that Title, when it was offer'd to him by his Parliament. He was design'd by him to Command the Fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the *Sound* between the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; but was, in truth, to hinder the *Dutch* from assisting the *Dane* against the *Swede*; with whom *Oliver* was engaged in an inseparable Alliance. He was upon this Expedition, when *Richard* was scornfully thrown out of the Protector-ship; and was afterwards joyn'd (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilst he had that Command) with *Algernoon Sidney*, and the other Plenipotentiaries which the Rump-Parliament sent to reconcile those Crowns. Assoon as *Richard* was so cast down, the King thought *Mountague's* relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him, to invite him to his Service.

THERE accompanied him at that time *Edward Mountague*, the eldest Son of the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, and his near Kinsman; with whom he had a particular Friendship. This Gentleman was not unknown to the King, and very well known to the Chancellor, to have good Affections and Resolutions; and one who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleasant Voyage, only to dispose his Cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to serve his Majesty. At this time Sr *George Booth* appear'd, and all those designs were laid, which, it was reasonably hoped, would engage the whole Kingdom against that odious part of the Parliament which was then possessed of the Government. And it was now thought a very seasonable Conjuncture to make an experiment, whether *Mountague* with his Fleet would declare for the King.

THE Chancellor thereupon prepared such a Letter in his own Name, as his Majesty thought proper, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the times, and the determination of all those Motives which had in his youth first provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He inform'd him of "Sr *George Booth's* being possessed of *Chester*, "and in the head of an Army; and that his Majesty was as- "sured of many other Places; and of a general Combination "between Persons of the greatest Interest, to declare for the "King; and that, if he would bring his Fleet upon the "Coast, his Majesty, or the Duke of *York*, would immedi- "ately be on Board with him. This Letter was inclosed in another to *Edward Mountague*, to be by him deliver'd, or Not deliver'd, as he thought fit; and committed to the care of an Express, who was then thought not to be without some Credit with the Admiral himself; which did not prove true.

How-

However, the Messenger was diligent in prosecuting his Voyage, and arriv'd safely at *Copenhagen* (where the Fleet lay; and where all the Plenipotentiaries from the Parliament then were) and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his Letter to the Person to whom it was directed; who, the same Night, deliver'd the other to his Cousin. He receiv'd it chearfully, and was well pleased with the hopes of suddain Revolutions in *England*.

THEY were both of them puzled how to behave themselves towards the Messenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the Fleet, where though he had had good Command, he had no Credit; and had appear'd so publickly, by the folly of Good-fellowship, that the Admiral, and many others, had seen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any Letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away, without speaking with the Admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his Errand. But *Edward Mountague* writ such a Letter to the Chancellor, as was evidence enough that his Majesty would not be disappointed in his expectation of any Service that the Admiral could perform for him. With this Answer the Messenger return'd to *Brussels*, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

WITHIN few days after this Messenger's withdrawing from *Copenhagen*, of whose being there the Plenipotentiaries were so jealous, that they had resolv'd to require of the King of *Denmark*, that he might be committed to Prison, Admiral *Mountague* declared, "That he should not be able to stay lon-"ger there for the want of Victual; of which he had not "more than would serve to carry him home; and therefore "desir'd, that they would press both King's, and the *Dutch* "Plenipotentiaries, to finish the Negotiation. By this time the News of the Commotions in *England* made a great noise, and were reported, according to the Affections of the Persons who sent Letters thither, more to the King's advantage than there was reason for; and the other Plenipotentiaries came to know, that the Man, of whom they were so jealous, had privately spoken with *Edward Mountague*; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the Admiral, who had never pleased them, was no stranger to that Negotiation; in which jealousy they were quickly confirm'd, when they saw him with his Fleet under Sail, making his course for *England*, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had secret Authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his Inclination) to have secured his Person on Board his own Ship, and to have

disposed

disposed of the Government of the Fleet; of which being thus prevented they could do no more than send Expresses over Land to acquaint the Parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their nature and wit could suggest to them.

When the Fleet arriv'd near the Coast of *England*, they found Sr *George Booth* defeated, and all Persons who pretended any affection for the King, so totally crushed, and the Rump Parliament in so full exercise of it's Tyrannical power, that the Admiral had nothing to do but to justify his return "By his scarcity of Victual, which must have failed, if he had "staid till the Winter had shut him up in the *Sound*; and his return was resolv'd upon the joynt Advice of the Flag-Officers of the Fleet; there being not a Man but his Cousin, who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that, assoon as he had presented himself to the Parliament, and laid down his Command, they deferr'd the examination of the whole matter, upon the Complaints which they had receiv'd from their Commissioners, till they could be at more leisure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of *Lambert*; so that *Mountague* went quietly into the Country, and remain'd neglected and forgotten, till those Revolutions were over which were produced by *Lambert*'s Invasion upon the Parliament, and General *Monk*'s march into *England*, and till near the time that the Name and Title of that Parliament was totally abolished, and extinguished; and then the secluded Members being restored call'd him to resume the Command of the Fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

This, together with the other good Symptoms in the State, raised his Majesty's hopes and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant allay, that in so great an alteration, and application of many who had been eminently averse from his Majesty, of the General, who only could put an end to all his doubts, there was *altum silentium*; no Persons trusted by his Majesty could approach him, nor was any word known to fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

The General's Counsels at this time.

The General was weary and perplexed with his unweildly Burthen, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with Persons of every Interest, the King's Party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found in his every day's discourses in the City, with those who were thought to be Presbyterians, and with other Persons of Quality and Consideration,

deration, that the People did generally wish for the King, and that they did believe, there could be no firm and settled Peace in the Nation, that did not comprehend His Interest, and compose the prejudice that was against His Party. But then there must be strict Conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his Majesty's Power to break; and which might not only secure all who had borne Arms against him, but such who had purchased the Lands of the Crown, or of Bishops, or of Delinquents, and no body spoke more favourably, than for the confirming all that had been offer'd by his Father in the Isle of *Wight*.

He had a conference with divers at Northumberland House.

WHETHER by invitation, or upon his own desire, he was present at *Northumberland* House in a Conference with that Earl, the Earl of *Manchester*, and other Lords, and likewise with *Hollis*, Sr *William Waller*, *Lewis*, and other eminent Persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the Heads and Governours of the moderate Presbyterian Party; who, most of them, would have been contented, their own security being provided for, that the King should be restored to his full Rights, and the Church to its Possessions. In this Conference, the King's Restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Satisfaction of the People; and the question seem'd only to be, upon what terms they should admit Him: some proposing more moderate, others more severe Conditions. In this whole Debate, the General insisted upon the most rigid Propositions; which he pressed in such a manner, that the Lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from Restoring the King, that it would not be safe for them then to prosecute that advice; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the Parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it. And the General, though he consulted with those of every Faction with much freedom, yet was by many then thought to have most familiarity, and to converse most freely with Sr *Arthur Haslerig*, who was irreconcilable to Monarchy, and looked upon as the Chief of that Republican Party, which desired not to preserve any face of Government in the Church, or Uniformity in the publick Exercise of Religion. This made the Lords, and all others, who were of different affections, very wary in their discourses with the General, and jealous of his Inclinations.

He consults with Mr Morrice.

THERE was, at this time, in much conversation, and trust with the General, a Gentleman of *Devonshire*, of a fair Estate and Reputation, one Mr *William Morrice*, a Person of a retired Life, which he spent in Study, being Learned and of good Parts; and he had been always looked upon as a Man

far from any Malice towards the King, if he had not good Affections for Him; which they who knew him best, believ'd him to have in a good measure. This Gentleman was ally'd to the General, and entirely trusted by him in the management of his Estate in that Country, where, by the death of his elder Brother without Heirs Male, he inherited a fair Fortune. And *Morrice*, being chosen to serve in the next ensuing Parliament, had made haste to *London*, the better to observe how things were like to go. With Him the General consulted freely touching all his perplexities and observations; how "He found most Men of Quality and Interest inclined to "call in the King, but upon such Conditions as must be very "ungrateful, if possible to be receiv'd; and the *London* Ministers talked already so loudly of them, that the Covenant being new Printed, and by Order fixed up in all Churches, they, in their Sermons, discoursed of the several Obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming the King, which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood, they thought it necessary the People should return to their Allegiance.

THAT which wrought most upon the General, was the choice which was begun to be made in all Counties for Members to serve in Parliament; very many of them being known to be of singular Affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the Murther of his Father, and detest the Government that succeeded: so that it was reasonably apprehended, that, when they should once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be restrain'd or controled; and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to leave no part to Him to merit of the King; from whom he had yet deserv'd nothing.

Mr MORRICE was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the Affections of the West, "Where the King's Restoration was, he said, "So impatiently "longed for, that they had made choice of few or no Mem-"bers to serve for *Cornwal* or *Devonshire*, but such, who, "they were confident, would contribute all they could to in-"vite the King to return. And when that Subject was once "upon the Stage, They who concurr'd with most frankness, "would find most credit; and they who opposed it, would "be overborne with lasting reproach. When the General had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolv'd to advance that design; and so consulted with his Friend how he might manage it in that manner, before the Parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to His Counsels, and Contrivance.

THERE was then in the Town a Gentleman well known

to

to be a Servant of eminent Trust to the King, Sr *John Greenvil*, who from the time of the Surrender of *Silly*, had enjoy'd his Estate, and sometimes his Liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected Person, often restrain'd. He had been privy to the sending to the General into *Scotland* the Clergy-man, his Brother; and was conversant with those who were most trusted by his Majesty, and at this time were taken notice of to have all Intimacy with Mr *Mordaunt*; who most immediately corresponded with *Brussels*. This Gentleman was of a Family to which the General was ally'd; and he had been obliged to his Father, Sr *Bevil Greenvil*; who lost his Life at the Battle of *Lansdown* for the King, and by his Will had recommended his much impair'd Fortune, and his Wife and Children, to the care and counsel of his Neighbour and Friend, Mr *Morrice*; who had executed the Trust with the utmost Fidelity and Friendship.

Sir John Greenvil introduced to the General by Mr. Morrice.

THE General was content, that Sr *John Greenvil* should be trusted in this great Affair, and that Mr *Morrice* should bring him secretly to him in a private Lodging he had in St *James's*. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his Life; he told him, "He meant to send him to the King; with whom, he pre- "sumed, he had credit enough to be believed without any "testimony; for he was resolv'd not to write to the King, "nor to give him any thing in writing; but wished him to "confer with Mr *Morrice*, and to take short Memorials in "his own hand of those particulars he should offer to him in "discourse; which when he had done, he would himself con- "fer with him again at an hour he should appoint. And so he retired hastily out of the Room, as if he were jealous that other Men would wonder at his absence.

THAT which Mr *Morrice* Communicated to *Greenvil*, was, after he had enlarged upon "The perplexity the General was "in, by the several humours and factions which prevailed, "and that he durst not trust any Officer of his own Army, or "any Friend but himself, with his own secret purposes; he advised, "That the King should write a Letter to the Gene- "ral; in which, after kind and gracious Expressions, he "should desire him to deliver the inclosed Letter, and Decla- "ration to the Parliament; the particular heads, and materials for which Letter, and Declaration, *Morrice* discoursed to him; the end of which was to satisfy all Interests, and to comply with every Man's humour, and indeed to suffer every Man to enjoy what he would.

AFTER Sr *John Greenvil* had enough discoursed all particulars with him, and taken such short Memorals for his Memory as he thought necessary, within a day or two he was

brought with the same wariness, and in another place, to the General; to whom he read the short Notes he had taken; to which little was added: and the General said, "That if the "King writ to that purpose, when he brought the Letter to "him, he would keep it in his hands, till he found a fit time "to deliver it, or should think of another way to serve his "Majesty. Only he added another particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the King to consent to, which was his Majesty's present remove out of *Flanders*. He undertook to know, that the *Spaniard* had no purpose to do any thing for him, and that all his Friends were jealous, that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferr'd it till they discover'd that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired, "That his Majesty would make haste "to *Breda*, and that, for the publick satisfaction, and that it "might be evident he had left *Flanders*, whatsoever he should "send in writing should bear date as from *Breda*; and he enjoyn'd Sr *John Greenvil* "Not to return, till he had himself "seen the King out of the Dominions of *Flanders*. Thus instructed he left him, who taking Mr *Mordaunt* with him for the Companion of his Journey, set out for *Flanders* about the beginning of *April* 1660, and in few days arrived safely at *Brussels*.

The Transactions between the General, Morrice, and Greenvil.

Thus instructed, Sr J. Greenvil goes over to Brussels with Mr. Mordaunt.

It was no unpleasant prospect to the King, nor of small advantage to him, that the *Spaniard* look'd upon all these Revolutions in *England* as the effects of the several animosities, and emulations of the different Factions among themselves; a Contention only between the Presbyterian-Republicans on one side, and the Independent and Levelling Party on the other, for Superiority, and who should steer the Government of the State, without the least reference to the King's Interest: which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced which side soever prevailed. And therefore *Don Alonzo*, by his *Irish* Agents (who made him believe any thing) continued firm to the Levellers, who, if they got the better of their Enemies, he was assured, would make a good Peace with *Spain*; which above all things they desired: and if they were oppressed, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the King, upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such Agents with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to *Brussels*; and when Instruments of most credit and importance, would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some Person, who was intrusted by him, into *Zeeland* to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of Negotiation, which was very expensive, they cared not what Money they disbursed, whilst they

they neglected the King, and suffer'd him to be without that small supply which they had assign'd to him.

In this temper were the *Spanish* Ministers, when Mr *Mordaunt* and Sr *John Greenvil* came to *Brussels*. And *Don Alonzo* had so fully possessed the Court at *Madrid* with the same Spirit, that when the Chancellor, in his Letters to Sr *Harry Bennet*, his Majesty's Resident there, intimated the hopes they had of a Revolution in *England* to the advantage of the King, he answer'd plainly, "That he durst not Communicate any of "those Letters to the Ministers there; who would laugh at "him for abusing them, since they look'd upon all those hopes "of the King as imaginary, and without foundation of Sense, "and upon his condition as most deplorable and absolutely "desperate.

Sir John Greenvil gives the King an account of his Negotiation with the General.

When Sr *John Greenvil* had at large inform'd his Majesty of the Affairs of *England*, of the manner of the General's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr *Morrice*, and had communicated the Instructions and Advices he had receiv'd, as his Majesty was very glad that the General had thus far discover'd himself, and that he had open'd a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; some of which he believ'd impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their possession in all the Lands which they held in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, by purchase or donation, whether of Lands belonging to the Crown and Church, and such who for adhering to his Father and himself, were declared Delinquents, and had their Lands confiscated and disposed of as their Enemies had thought fit. Then the complying with all humours in Religion, and the granting a general liberty of Conscience, was a violation of all the Laws in force, and could not be apprehended to consist with the Peace of the Kingdom. No Man was more disposed to a general Act of Indemnity and Oblivion than his Majesty was; which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it neither consistent with his Honour, nor his Conscience, that those who had sat as Judges, and condemn'd his Father to be murther'd, should be comprehended in that Act of Pardon: yet it was advised, "That there might be no Exception; or "that above Four might not be excepted; because it was alledg'd, "That some of them had facilitated the General's "march by falling from *Lambert*, and others had barefaced "advanced the King's Service very much.

The King's deliberations upon the terms proposed by the General.

After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the General's advice in all thing's which his Conscience and Honour would permit,

his Majeſty directed ſuch Letters and Declarations to be prepared, as ſhould be, in a good degree, ſuitable to the Wiſhes and Counſel of the General, and yet make the tranſaction of thoſe things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the Parliament, rather than of his Majeſty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the General Election of honeſt and prudent Men, and in ſome particular Perſons, who, he heard, were already choſen, diſpoſed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reſerve to himſelf, to the wiſdom of the Parliament, upon preſumption that they would not exact more from him then he was willing to conſent to; ſince he well knew, that whatever title They aſſum'd or He gave them, they muſt have another kind of Parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which They could not be ſafe, and contented, nor his Majeſty obliged.

THE Advice for his Majeſty's remove out of *Flanders* preſently, was not ungrateful; for he had reaſons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to *Holland*; where he had been as unkindly uſed as it was poſſible for any Gentleman to be. But beſides the Authority which the General's advice deſerv'd to have, the truth is, his Majeſty could remove no whither elſe. *France* was equally excepted againſt, and equally diſagreeable to the King; and the way thither muſt be through all the *Spaniſh* Dominions: *Dunkirk* was a place in many reſpects deſirable, becauſe it was in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, from whence he might Embark for *England* upon the ſhorteſt warning. And upon the firſt alterations in *England*, after the Peace between the two Crowns, the King had ſent to *Lockhart*, the Governour, and General of the *Engliſh* there, by a Perſon of Honour, well known and reſpected by him, to invite him to his Service by the proſpect he had of the Revolutions like to enſue (which probably could not but be advantageous to the King) and by the uncertainty of *Lockhart*'s own condition upon any ſuch Alterations. The Arguments were urged to him with clearneſs and force enough, and all neceſſary offers made to perſwade him to declare for the King, and to receive his Majeſty into that Garriſon; which might be facilitated by his Majeſty's Troops, if he did not think his own Soldiers enough at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "The "Truſt he had receiv'd, and the indecency of breaking it; though, he confeſſed, "There was ſuch a jealouſy of him in the "Council of State, for his relation and alliance to *Cromwell*, "that he expected every day to be removed from that Com- "mand; as ſhortly after he was. Whether this refuſal proceeded from the punctuality of his Nature (for he was a Man of parts, and of honour) or from his Jealouſy of the Garriſon,

ſon, that they would not be diſpoſed by him (for though he was exceedingly belov'd, and obey'd by them, yet they were all *Engliſh-men*, and he had none of his own Nation, which was the *Scotiſh*, but in his own Family) certain it is, that, at the ſame time he refuſed to treat with the King, he refuſed to accept the great offers made to him by the Cardinal; who had a high eſteem of him, and offer'd to make him Marſhal of *France*, with great appointments of Penſions and other Emoluments, if he would deliver *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike* into the hands of *France*; all which Overtures he rejected: ſo that his Majeſty had no place to reſort to preferable to *Breda*.

THE King was reſolv'd rather to make no mention of the Murtherers of his Father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was propoſed; but choſe rather to refer the whole conſideration of that Affair, without any reſtriction, to the Conſcience of the Parliament; yet with ſuch expreſſions and deſcriptions, that they could not but diſcern that he truſted them in confidence that they would do Themſelves and the Nation right, in declaring their deteſtation of, and preparing vengeance for, that Parricide. And from the time that the ſecluded Members ſate again with the Rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious Murther unexamined and unpuniſhed; which the more diſpoſed the King to depend upon their Virtue and Juſtice.

WHEN the Summons were ſent out to call the Parliament, there was no mention or thought of a Houſe of Peers; nor had the General intimated and ſuch thing to Sr *John Greenvil*; nor did Sr *John* himſelf, or Mr *Mordaunt*, conceive that any of the Lords had a purpoſe to meet at firſt, but that all muſt depend upon the Commons. However, the King thought not fit to paſs Them by, but to have a Letter prepared as well for Them as for the Houſe of Commons; and likewiſe another to the Fleet; and another to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*; who, by adhering to the General, were like to add very much to his Authority.

The Letters prepared to the Parliament, &c. which the General adviſed.

WHEN all thoſe things were prepared, and peruſed, and approved by the King, which he reſolv'd to ſend by Sr *John Greenvil* to the General (*Greenvil*'s and *Mordaunt*'s being in *Bruſſels* being unknown; They, attending his Majeſty only in the Night at the Chancellor's Lodging, concealing themſelves from being taken notice of by any) his Majeſty viſited the Marquis of *Carracena*, and told him, "That he intended "the next day to go to *Antwerp*, and from thence to *Breda*, "to ſpend two or three days with his Siſter the Princeſs of "*Orange*; to whom the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter* were already gone, to acquaint her with the King's purpoſe; and his Majeſty

The King declares to the Marquis of Carracena "That he intended to go for "ſome days "to Breda, "to meet "his Siſter,

Majesty likewise, in confidence, inform'd him, "That there "were some Persons come from *England*, who would not "venture to come to *Brussels*, from whom he expected some "Propositions and Informations, which might prove benefi- "cial to him; which obliged him to make that Journey to "confer with them.

THE Marquis seem'd to think That of little Moment; and said, "That *Don Alonzo* expected every day to receive assu- "rance, that the Levellers would unite themselves to the King's "Interest upon more moderate Conditions than they had "hitherto made; but desired his Majesty, "That the Duke of "*York* might hasten his Journey into *Spain*, to receive the "Command that was there reserv'd for him; and the King de- sired him, "That the Forces he had promised for his Service, "might be ready against his return to be Embarked upon the "first appreance of a hopeful occasion. So they parted; and his Majesty went the next day to *Antwerp*, with that small re- tinue he used to Tarvel with.

The Spaniards design to seise his Majesty, discover'd.

HIS departure was some hours earlier than the Marquis imagin'd; and the reason of it was this: In that Night, one Mr *William Galloway*, an *Irish* young Man, Page at that time to *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, came to the Lord Chancellor's Lodgings, and finding his Secretary in his own Room, told him, "He must needs speak presently with his Lord; for he "had something to impart to him that concern'd the King's "life. The Chancellor, though at that time in Bed, order'd him to be admitted; and the poor man trembling told him, "That his Lord *Don Alonzo*, and the Marquis of *Carracena* had "been long together that Evening; and, that himself had "overheard them saying something of sending a Guard to at- "tend the King: that, about an hour after, they parted; and "the Marquis sent a Paper to *Don Alonzo*; who, when he "went to Bed, laid it on his Table: that himself, who lay in "his Master's Ante-Chamber, look'd into the Paper, when "his Master was in Bed; and, seeing what it was, had brought "it to the Chancellor: It imported an Order to an Officer to attend the King with a Party of Horse, for a Guard wherever he went (a respect that never had been paid him before) but not to suffer him, on any terms, to go out of the Town. As- soon as the Chancellor had read the Order, he sent his Secre- tary with it to the King; who was in Bed likewise; and his Majesty having read it, the Secretary return'd it to *Galloway*; who went home, and laid it in its place upon his Master's Table. The King commanded the Chancellor's Secretary to call up his Majesty's Query, Sr *William Armorer*; and to Him his Majesty gave his Orders, charging him with secrecy, "That "he would be gone at three of the Clock that Morning: and accordingly

accordingly he went, attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, S^r *William Armorer*, and two or three Servants more. Between eight and nine that Morning, an Officer did come and inquire for the King; but it happen'd, by this seasonable discovery, that his Majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small Mortification, no doubt, of the *Spanish* Governour.

The King goes towards Breda, and delivers to Sr John Greenvil the Letters prepared.

ASSOON as his Majesty came into the States Dominions, which was about the midway between *Antwerp* and *Breda*, he deliver'd to S^r *John Greenvil* (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the General, "That "he had seen his Majesty out of *Flanders*) all those dispatches, "which were prepared, and dated, as from *Breda*, upon the same day in which he receiv'd them, and where his Majesty was to be that Night. The Copies of all were likewise deliver'd to him, that the General, upon perusal thereof, might, without opening the Originals, choose whether he would deliver them, if any thing was contain'd therein which he disliked; and his Majesty referr'd it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former Advice.

SIR *John Greenvil*, before his Departure, told the King, "That though he had no order to propose it directly to his "Majesty; yet he could assure him, it would be the most "grateful and obliging thing his Majesty could do towards the "General, if he would give him leave to assure him, that, as- "soon as he came into *England*, he would bestow the Office "of one of the Secretaries of State upon M^r *Morrice*; who "was as well qualified for it, as any Man who had not been "versed in the knowledge of Forreign Affairs. One of those places was then void by the Earl of *Bristol*'s becoming Roman Catholick, and thereupon resigning the Signet; and his Majesty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the General, and to gratify a Person who had so much credit with him, and had already given such manifestation of his good Affection to his Majesty, and directed him to give that Assurance to the General. With these dispatches S^r *John Greenvil*, and M^r *Mordaunt*, who privately expected his return at *Antwerp*, made what haste they could towards *England*; and the King went that Night to *Breda*. The Letters which the King writ to the General, and to the House of Commons, and the other Letters, with the Declaration, are here inserted in the terms they were sent.

Sr John Greenvil and Mr Mordaunt return towards England.

To

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monk, *to be by him communicated to the President, and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.*

Charles R.

The Letter of the King to the General and the Army.

"TRUSTY, and Well-beloved, We greet you well: It "cannot be believ'd, but that We have been, are, and ever "must be, as sollicitous as We can, by all endeavours to im- "prove the Affections of Our good Subjects at home, and to "procure the Assistance of Our Friends and Allies abroad, "for the Recovery of that Right, which, by the Laws of God "and Man, is unquestionable; and of which We have been "so long dispossessed by such force, and with those circum- "stances, as We do not desire to aggravate by any sharp Ex- "pressions; but rather wish, that the memory of what is past, "may be buried to the World. That We have more endea- "vour'd to prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our "Subjects at home for Our Restoration, than to procure As- "sistance from abroad to Invade either of Our Kingdoms, is "as manifest to the World. And We cannot give a better evi- "dence that We are still of the same mind, than in This Con- "juncture; when common reason must satisfy all Men, that "We cannot be without Assistance from abroad, We choose "rather to send to you, who have it in your power to pre- "vent that ruin and desolation which a War would bring up- "on the Nation, and to make the whole Kingdom owe the "Peace, Happiness, Security, and Glory it shall enjoy, to "your Virtue; and to acknowledge that your Armies have "comply'd with their obligations, for which they were first "raised, for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, the "Honour and Dignity of the King, the Privileges of Parlia- "ment, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the fun- "damental Laws of the Land; and that You have vindicated "that Trust, which others most perfidiously abused and be- "tray'd. How much We desire, and resolve to contribute to "those good Ends, will appear to You by Our inclosed De- "claration; which We desire you to cause to be published "for the Information and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, "who do not desire a farther effusion of precious Christian "Blood, but to have their Peace and Security founded upon "that which can only support it, an Unity of Affection a- "mongst Our selves, an equal Administration of Justice to "Men restoring Parliaments to a full capacity of providing "for all that is amiss, and the Laws of the Land to their due "Veneration.

"You have been your selves Witnesses of so many Revo- "lutions,

"lutions, and have had so much experience, how far any "Power and Authority that is only assumed by passion and "appetite, and not supported by Justice, is from providing "for the Happiness and Peace of the People, or from receiving any Obedience from them (without which no Government can provide for them) that you may very reasonably "believe, that God hath not been so well pleased with the "Attempts that have been made, since he hath usually encreased the Confusion, by giving all the Success that hath "been desired, and brought that to pass without effect, which "the Designers have proposed as the best means to settle and "compose the Nation: and therefore We cannot but hope "and believe, that you will concur with Us in the Remedy "We have apply'd; which to human Understanding, is only "proper for the ills We all groan under; and that you will "make your selves the blessed Instruments to bring this blessing of Peace and Reconciliation upon King and People, it "being the usual method in which Divine Providence delighteth it self, to use and sanctify those very means, which "ill Men design for the satisfaction of private and particular "Ends and Ambition, and other wicked purposes, to wholesome and publick Ends, and to establish that Good which is "most contrary to the Designers; which is the greatest manifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a Nation that can "be given in this World. How far We resolve to preserve "your Interests, and reward your Services, We refer to Our "Declaration; and We hope God will inspire you to perform your Duty to Us, and to your Native Country; whose "Happiness cannot be separated from each other.

"WE have intrusted Our Well-beloved Servant Sr *John* "*Greenvil*, one of the Gentlemen of Our Bed-Chamber, to "deliver this unto You, and to give Us an account of your "reception of it, and to desire You, in our Name, that it "may be published. And so We bid you farewel.

Given at Our Court at Breda, *this* $\frac{4th}{14}$ *of* April 1660, *in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

To Our Trusty, and Well-beloved, the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Charles R.

"TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you well: In "these great and insupportable Afflictions and Calamities, un- *The Letter to the House of Commons.*
"der which the poor Nation hath been so long exercised, and "by which it is so near exhausted, We cannot think of a "more natural and proper Remedy, than to resort to those

"for

"for Counsel and Advice, who have seen and observ'd the "first beginning of Our Miseries, the progress from bad to "worse, and the mistakes and misunderstandings, which have "been produced, and contributed to inconveniencies which "were not intended; and after so many Revolutions, and the "observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by "Our good Subjects to repair the Breaches which are made, "and to provide proper Remedies for those Evils, and for the "lasting Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom.

"We do assure You upon Our Royal Word, that none of "Our Predecessors have had a greater esteem of Parliaments, "than We have in Our judgment, as well as from our ob- "ligation; We do believe them to be so vital a part of the "Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary for the Go- "vernment of it, that We well know neither Prince nor "People can be in any tolerable degree happy without them; "and therefore you may be confident, that We shall always "look upon their Counsels, as the best We can receive; and "shall be as tender of their Privileges, and as careful to pre- "serve and protect them, as of that which is most near to Our "Self, and most necessary for Our own Preservation.

"And as this is Our opinion of Parliaments, that their "Authority is most necessary for the Government of the King- "dom; so We are most confident, that you believe, and "find, that the preservation of the King's Authority is as ne- "cessary for the preservation of Parliaments; and that it is "not the Name but the right Constitution of them, which "can prepare and apply proper Remedies for those Evils "which are grievous to the People, and which can thereby "establish their Peace and Security. And therefore We "have not the least doubt, but that you will be as tender "in, and as jealous of, any thing that may infringe Our "Honour, or impair Our Authority, as of your own Li- "berty and Property; which is best preserv'd by preserving "the other.

"How far We have trusted you in this great Affair, and "how much it is in your Power to restore the Nation to all "that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any infamy it hath "undergone, and to make the King and People as happy as "they ought to be; you will find by Our inclosed Declara- "tion; a Copy of which We have likewise sent to the House "of Peers: and you will easily believe, that We would not "voluntarily, and of Our Self, have reposed so great a Trust "in you, but upon an entire Confidence that you will not "abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and "with such due consideration of Us who have trusted You, "that We shall not be ashamed of declining other Assistance

"(which

"(which We have assurance of) and repairing to You for "more natural and proper Remedies for the Evils We would "be free from; nor sorry, that We have bound up Our own "Interests so entirely with that of Our Subjects, as that We "refer it to the same Persons to take care of Us, who are "trusted to provide for Them. We look upon You as wise "and dispassionate Men, and good Patriots, who will raise "up those Banks and Fences which have been cast down, "and who will most reasonably hope, that the same pros-"perity will again spring from those Roots, from which it "hath heretofore and always grown; nor can We appre-"hend that you will propose any thing to Us, or expect any "thing from Us, but what We are as ready to give, as You "to receive.

"If You desire the Advancement and Propagation of the "Protestant Religion, We have, by Our constant profession, "and practice of it, given sufficient Testimony to the World, "that neither the Unkindness of those of the same Faith to-"wards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of a "contrary profession (of both which We have had an abun-"dant Evidence) could in the least degree startle Us, or make "Us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to mani-"fest Our Zeal and Affection for it, to which We will not "readily consent. And We hope, in due time, Our Self to "propose somewhat to You for the Propagation of it, that will "satisfy the World, that We have always made it both Our "care and Our study, and have enough observ'd what is most "like to bring disadvantage to it.

"If You desire security for those who, in these Calamitous "times, either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those "bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each o-"thers Rights, We have left to you to provide for their Se-"curity and Indemnity, and in such a way, as you shall think "just and reasonable; and by a just computation of what Men "have done, and suffer'd, as near as is possible, to take care "that all Men be satisfied; which is the surest way to sup-"press, and extirpate all such Uncharitableness and Animosity, "as might hereafter shake and threaten that Peace, which for "the present might seem established. If there be a crying "Sin, for which the Nation may be involv'd in the infamy "that attends it, We cannot doubt but that you will be as sol-"licitous to redeem it, and vindicate the Nation from that "Guilt and Infamy, as We can be.

"If You desire that Reverence and Obedience may be "paid to the fundamental Laws of the Land, and that Justice "may be equally and impartially administer'd to all Men, it "is that which We desire to be sworn to Our Self, and

"that

"that all Persons in Power and Authority should be so too-
"In a word, there is nothing that you can propose that "may make the Kingdom happy, which We will not con- "tend with You to compass; and upon this Confidence and "Assurance, We have thought fit to send you this Declara- "tion, that you may, as much as is possible, at this distance; "see Our Heart; which, when God shall bring Us nearer "together (as We hope he will do shortly) will appear to you "very agreeable to what We have professed; and We hope, "that We have made that right Christian use of our Afflicti- "on, and that the observation and experience We have had "in other Countries, have been such, as that We, and, We "hope, all Our Subjects, shall be the better for what We have "seen and suffer'd.

"We shall add no more, but Our Prayers to Almighty "God, that he will so bless your Counsels, and direct your "Endeavours, that his Glory and Worship may be provided "for; and the Peace, Honour, and Happiness of the Nation, "may be establish'd upon those foundations which can best "support it. And so We bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Breda, *this* $\frac{1}{14}$ *day of* April 1660, *in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

His Majesty's Declaration.

Charles R.

The King's Declaration.

"CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scot- "land*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To "all Our loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, "Greeting. If the general distraction, and confusion, which "is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all "Men to a desire, and longing, that those Wounds which "have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be "bound up, all We can say will be to no purpose. However, "after this long silence, We have thought it Our Duty to "declare, how much We desire to contribute thereunto: and "that, as We can never give over the hope, in good time, "to obtain the possession of that Right, which God and Na- "ture hath made Our due; so We do make it our daily Suit "to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to "Us, and Our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, "remit, and put Us into a quiet, and peaceable possession of "that Our Right, with as little blood and damage to Our "People as is possible; nor do We desire more to enjoy what "is Ours, than that all Our Subjects may enjoy what by Law "is Theirs, by a full and entire administration of Justice "throughout the Land, and by extending Our Mercy where it "is wanted and deserv'd. "AND

"AND to the end that fear of punishment may not engage "any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseve- "rance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and "happiness of their Country, in the Restoration both of King, "and Peers, and People, to their just, ancient, and funda- "mental Rights; We do by these presents declare, that We "do grant a free and general Pardon, which We are ready, "upon demand, to pass under Our Great Seal of *England*, to "all Our Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, who "within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold "upon this Our Grace and Favour, and shall by any Publick "Act declare their doing so, and that they return to the Loy- "alty and Obedience of good Subjects; excepting only such "Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament. Those "only excepted, let all Our Subjects, how Faulty soever, rely "upon the Word of a King, solemnly given by this present "Declaration, that no Crime whatsoever committed against "Us, or Our Royal Father, before the publication of this, "shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question a- "gainst any of them, to the least indamagement of them, ei- "ther in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as "lies in Our Power) so much as to the prejudice of their "Reputations, by any reproach, or terms of distinction from "the rest of Our best Subjects; We desiring, and ordaining, "that henceforward all Notes of discord, separation, and diffe- "rence of Parties, be utterly abolish'd among all Our Subjects; "whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among "themselves, under Our Protection, for the Resettlement of "Our just Rights, and Their's, in a free Parliament; by "which, upon the word of a King, we Will be advised.

"AND because the passion and uncharitableness of the "Times, have produced several opinions in Religion, by "which Men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against "each other; which, when they shall hereafter unite in a "freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better un- "derstood; We do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences; "and that no Man shall be disquieted, or called in question, "for differences of opinion in matters of Religion which do "not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that We shall "be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as, upon "mature deliberation, shall be offer'd to Us, for the full grant- "ing that Indulgence.

"AND because in the continued distractions of so many "years, and so many and great Revolutions, many Grants "and Purchases of Estates have been made to and by many "Officers, Soldiers, and Others, who are now possessed of the "same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon se-

"veral

" veral Titles; We are likewise willing that all such diffe-
" rences, and all things relating to such Grants, Sales, and
" Purchases shall be determin'd in Parliament; which can best
" provide for the just satisfaction of all Men who are con-
" cern'd.

" And We do farther declare, that We will be ready to
" consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purposes
" aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all Arrears due to
" the Officers and Soldiers of the Army under the Command of
" General *Monk*; and that they shall be receiv'd into our Ser-
" vice upon as good Pay, and Conditions, as they now enjoy.

Given under Our Sign Manual, and Privy Signet, at Our Court at Breda, *the* $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of* April, 1660, *in the twelfth year of our Reign.*

Charles R.

His Majesty's Letter to the House of Lords.

" Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousins, and
" Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousins, and Trusty and
" Right Well-bloved; We greet you well. We cannot
" have a better reason to promise Our self an end of Our com-
" mon sufferings and Calamities, and that Our own just Power
" and Authority will, with God's blessing be restored to Us,
" than that You are again acknowledged to have that Autho-
" rity and Jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by
" your Birth, and the fundamental Laws of the Land: and
" We have thought it very fit and safe for Us to call to you
" for your Help, in the Composing the confounding distem-
" pers and distractions of the Kingdom; in which Your Suf-
" ferings are next to those We have undergone Our self; and
" therefore You cannot but be the most proper Counsellors
" for removing those Mischiefs, and for preventing the like
" for the future. How great a Trust We repose in You, for
" the procuring and establishing a blessed Peace and Security
" for the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed Decla-
" ration; which Trust, We are most confident you will dis-
" charge with that Justice, and Wisdom, that becomes you,
" and must always be expected from you; and that, upon your
" experience how one violation succeeds another, when the
" known Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed,
" you will be as jealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for
" the Honour of your King, as for Your selves: and then you
" cannot but discharge your Trust with good Success, and pro-
" vide for, and establish the Peace, Happiness, and Honour of
" King, Lords, and Commons, upon that foundation which
" can only support it; and We shall be all happy in each other:
" and as the whole Kingdom will bless God for You all, so We
" shall

"shall hold our self obliged in an especial manner to thank You "in particular, according to the Affection You shall express "towards Us. We need the less enlarge to you upon this Sub- "ject, because We have likewise writ to the House of Com- "mons; which We suppose they will communicate to you. "And We pray God to bless your joynt Endeavours for the "good of Us all. And so We bid you very heartily farewel.

Given at Our Court at Breda, *this* $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of* April, 1660 *in the twelfth year of our Reign.*

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved Genearl Monk, *and General* Mountague, *Generals at Sea, to be communicated to the Fleet.*

Charles R.

His Majesty's Letter to the Fleet.

"TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you well. It is "no small comfort to Us, after so long and great Troubles "and Miseries, which the whole Nation hath groaned un- "der; and after so great Revolutions, which have still increa- "sed those Miseries, to hear that the Fleet and Ships, which "are the Walls of the Kingdom, are put under the Command "of two Persons so well disposed to, and concern'd in, the "Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom, as We believe You "to be; and that the Officers and Sea-men under your Com- "mand, are more inclined to return to their duty to Us, and "put a period to these distempers and distractions, which "have so impoverish'd and dishonour'd the Nation, than to "widen the Breach, and to raise their Fortunes by rapine and "violence; which gives Us great encouragement and hope, "that God Almighty will heal the Wounds by the same "Plaister that made the flesh raw; that he will proceed in the "same Method in pouring his Blessings upon Us, which he was "pleased to use, when he began to afflict us; and that the ma- "nifestation of the good Affection of the Fleet and Sea-men "towards Us, and the Peace of the Nation, may be the Pro- "logue to that Peace, which was first interrupted by the Mi- "stake and Misunderstanding of their Predecessors; which "would be such a Blessing upon Us all, that We should not "be less delighted with the manner, than the matter of it.

"IN this hope and confidence, We have sent the inclosed "Declaration to you; by which you may discern, how much "We are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the ge- "neral and Publick Peace: in which as no Man can be more, "or so much, concern'd, so no Man can be more sollicitous "for it. And We do earnestly desire you, that you will cause

"the said Declaration to be published to all the Officers and "Seamen of the Fleet; to the End that they may plainly di- "scern, how much we have put it into Their power to pro- "vide for the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, who have "been always understood by them to be the best and most "proper Councellors for those good ends: and You are like- "wise farther to declare to them, that We have the same "gracious purpose towards Them, which We have expressed "towards the Army at Land; and will be as ready to provide "for the payment of all Arrears due to them, and for reward- "ing them according to their several Merits, as We have ex- "pressed to the other; and We will always take so particular "a care of them and their Condition, as shall manifest Our "kindness towards them. And so depending upon God's "Blessing, for infusing those good Resolutions into Your, and "Their Hearts, which are best for Us all; We bid you fare- "wel.

Given at our Court at Breda, *this,* $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of* April, 1660, *in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of Our City of London.

Charles R.

His Majesty's Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London.

"TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you well. In "these great Revolutions of late, happen'd in that Our King- "dom, to the wonder and amazement of all the World, there "is none that We have look'd upon with more comfort, than "the so frequent and publick manifestations of their Affecti- "ons to Us in the City of *London*; which hath exceedingly "raised Our Spirits, and which, no doubt, hath proceeded "from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary Mercy to the "Nation; which hath been encouraged by You, and your "good Example, to assert that Government under which it "hath so many hundred years, enjoyed as great felicity as "any Nation in *Europe*; and to discountenance the Imagina- "tions of those who would subject Our Subjects to a Govern- "ment they have not yet devised, and, to satisfy the pride and "ambition of a few ill Men, would introduce the most Arbi- "trary and Tyrannical Power that was ever yet heard of. How "long We have all suffer'd under those and the like devices, "all the world takes notice, to the no small reproach of the "*English* Nation; which We hope is now providing for its "own Security and Redemption, and will be no longer be- "witched by those Inventions.

"HOW desirous We are to contribute to the obtaining the "Peace

"Peace and Happineſs of our Subjects without effuſion of blood; "and how far We are from deſiring to recover what belongs "to Us by a War, if it can be otherwiſe done, will appear to "you by the incloſed Declaration; which, together with this "Our Letter, We have intruſted Our Right Truſty and Well-"beloved Couſin, the Lord Viſcount *Mordaunt*, and Our "Truſty and Well beloved Servant, Sr *John Greenvil* Knight, "one of the Gentlemen of our Our Bed-Chamber, to deliver "to you; to the end, that You, and all the reſt of Our good "Subjects of that Our City of *London* (to whom We deſire it "ſhould be publiſhed) may know, how far We are from the "deſire of revenge, or that the Peace, Happineſs, and Secu-"rity of the Kingdom, ſhould be raiſed upon any other foun-"dation than the affections and hearts of Our Subjects, and "their own Conſents.

"We have not the leaſt doubt of your juſt ſenſe of theſe "Our Condeſcenſions, or of your Zeal to advance and pro-"mote the ſame good end, by diſpoſing all Men to meet Us "with the ſame affection and tenderneſs, in reſtoring the fun-"damental Laws to that Reverence that is due to them, and "upon the preſervation whereof all our happineſs depends. "And you will have no reaſon to doubt of enjoying your full "ſhare in that happineſs, and of the improving it by Our par-"ticular affection to you. It is very natural for all Men to do "all the good they can for their Native Country, and to ad-"vance the honour of it; and as We have that full Affection "for the Kingdom in general, ſo We would not be thought "to be without ſome Extraordinary kindneſs for Our Native "City in that particular; which We ſhall manifeſt on all oc-"caſions, not only by renewing their Charter, and confirming "all thoſe Privileges which they have receiv'd from Our Pre-"deceſſors, but by adding and granting any new Favours, "which may advance the Trade, Wealth, and Honour of that "Our Native City; for which We will be ſo ſollicitous, that "We doubt not but that it will, in due time, receive ſome "Benefit and Advantage in all thoſe reſpects, even from Our "own obſervation and experience abroad. And We are moſt "confident, We ſhall never be diſappointed in Our expecta-"tion of all poſſible Service from your Affections: And ſo "We bid you farewel.

Given at our Court at Breda, *the* $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of* April, 1660, *in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

Sir John Greenvil arrives in England, and communicates the Letters to the General.

THE two Gentlemen lately mention'd to have been with the King, return'd to *London* before the defeat of *Lambert*, and a full week before the Parliament was to begin. The General, upon the perusal of the Copies of the several dispatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remember'd for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the King; and though he was offer'd all the Authority that *Cromwell* had enjoyed, and the Title of King, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the Interest of his Majesty: yet he as carefully retained the Secret, and did not Communicate to any Person living (M^r *Morrice* only excepted) that he had receiv'd any Letter from the King, till the very minute that he presented it to the House of Commons.

The General's behaviour after that time.

Declarations of the King's party at this time; which had great effect.

THERE happen'd at the same time a concurrence, which much facilitated the great work in hand. For since a great obstruction that hinder'd the Universal consent to call in the King, was the Conscience of the personal injuries, incivilities, reproachful, and barbarous usage, which all the Royal Party had sustain'd, and the Apprehension that their Animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all Acts of Pardon and Indemnity granted by the King, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that They who had been kept under, and oppressed for near twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the King's Restoration, with extreme Licence and Insolence; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet Persons of the King's Party caused a Declaration to be prepared; in which (after their acknowledgments and thanks to the General, "For having, next under the Divine Providence, so far "conducted these Nations towards a happy recovery of their "Laws, and Ancient Government) they sincerely professed, "that they reflected on the past sufferings as from the hand "of God; and therefore did not cherish any violent thoughts "or inclinations against any Persons whatsoever, who had "been any way instrumental in them; and that, if the indis-"cretion of any particular Persons should transport them to "Expressions contrary to this their general Sense, they utterly "disclaimed them. They farther promised, "by their quiet "and peaceable behaviour, to testify their submission to the "Council of State, in expectation of the future Parliament; "on whose wisdom, they trusted, God would give such a "Blessing, as might produce a perfect Settlement both in "Church and State. And lastly they declared, "That, as the "General had not chosen the sandy foundations of Self-Go-"vernment, but the firm Rock of National Interest, where-"on to frame a settlement, so it was their hope and prayer,

"that,

"that, when the building ſhould come to be raiſed, it might "not, like *Rome*, have the beginning in the blood of Brethren; "nor, like *Babel*, be interrupted by confuſion of Tongues; "but that all might ſpeak one Language, and be of one Name; "that all mention of Parties, and Factions, and all Rancor "and Animoſities may be thrown in, and buried, like Rubbiſh "under the Foundation.

THESE profeſſions, or to the ſame purpoſe, under the Title of a Declaration of the Nobility, and Gentry, and Clergy, that had ſerved the late King, or his preſent Majeſty, or adhered to the Royal Party in ſuch a City or County, which was named, were Sign'd by all the conſiderable Perſons therein; as this that We have here mention'd, was ſubſcribed by great Numbers in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and ſo were ſeveral others from other places; and then all Printed with their Names, and publiſhed to the view of the world; which were receiv'd with great joy, and did much allay thoſe jealouſies, which obſtructed the confidence that was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between them.

The Affairs of Ireland for ſome years paſt till this time.

NOTHING hath been of late ſaid of *Ireland*; which waited upon the dictates of the Governing Party in *England* with the ſame giddineſs. The *Iriſh*, who would now have been glad to have redeem'd their paſt Miſcarriages and Madneſs by doing Service for the King, were under as ſevere a Captivity, and compleat Miſery, as the worſt of their Actions had deſerv'd, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thouſand of them Tranſported into Forreign parts, for the Service of the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, few of whom were alive after ſeven years, and after double that Number conſumed by the Plague and Famine, and Severities exerciſed upon them in their own Country; the remainder of them had been by *Cromwell* (who could not find a better way of extirpation) tranſplanted into the moſt inland, barren, deſolate, and mountanous part of the Province of *Connaught*; and it was lawful for any Man to kill any of the *Iriſh*, who were found in any place out of thoſe precincts which were aſſign'd to them within that Circuit. Such a proportion of Land was allotted to every Man as the Protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal Releaſes of all their pretences and titles to any Lands in any other Provinces, of which they had been depriv'd; and if they refuſed to give ſuch Releaſes, they were ſtill depriv'd of what they would not Releaſe, without any reaſonable hope of ever being reſtored to it; and left to ſtarve within the Limits preſcribed to them; out of which they durſt not withdraw; and They who did adventure, were without all remorſe proſecuted by the *Engliſh*, aſſoon as they were diſcover'd: ſo

that very few refused to sign those Releases, or other Acts which were demanded; upon which the Lords and Gentlemen, had such Assignments of Land made to them, as in some degree were proportionable to their Qualities; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that Province, who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own; but to those who were driven thither out of other Provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing; it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by Husbandry raise any thing out of their Lands to support their Lives: yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence, and to be in some sort industrious; so that at the time to which we are now arriv'd, they were settled, within the Limits prescribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard Articles which had been granted, were not punctually observ'd to them; but their proportions restrain'd, and lessen'd by some pretences of the *English*, under some former Grants, or other Titles; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compell'd to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a Conquer'd Nation; which reproach the *Irish* had taken so heavily from the Earl of *Strafford*, when they were equally free with the *English*, who had subdued them, that they made it part of that Charge upon which he lost his Life.

UPON the recalling, and tame Submission of *Harry Cromwell* to the Rump-Parliament, assoon as his Brother *Richard* was deposed, the Factions encreased in *Ireland* to a very great height, as well amongst the Soldiers and Officers of the Army, as in the Council of State, and amongst the Civil Magistrates. The Lord *Broghill*, who was President of *Munster*, and of a very great interest, and influence upon that whole Province, though he had great wariness in discovering his Inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated *Lambert* so much, that he less feared the King; and so wished for a safe opportunity to do his Majesty Service; and he had a good Post, and a good Party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

SIR *Charles Coot*, who was President of *Conaught*, and had a good Command, and Interest in the Army, was a Man of less Guilt, and more Courage, and impatience to serve the King. He sent over Sr *Arthur Forbes*, a *Scotish* Gentleman of good Affection to the King, and good Interest in the Province of *Ulster*, where he was an Officer of Horse. This Gentleman Sr *Charles Coot* sent to *Brussels* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "That he might assure his Majesty of his Affection "and Duty; and that, if his Majesty would vouchsafe him- "self to come into *Ireland*, he was confident the whole King- "dom

"dom would declare for him: that though the preſent Power "in *England* had remov'd all the ſober Men from the Govern- "ment of the State, in *Ireland*, under the Character of Preſ- "byterians; and had put *Ludlow*, *Corbet*, and others of the "King's Judges in their places; yet they were ſo generally "odious to the Army as well as to the People, that they could "ſeiſe upon their Perſons, and the very Caſtle of *Dublin*, "when they ſhould judge it convenient.

SIR *Arthur Forbes* arriv'd at *Bruſſels*, before the King had any aſſurance or confident hope of the General, and when few Men thought his Fortune better than deſperate: ſo that, if what Sr *Arthur* propoſed (which was kept very ſecret) had been publiſh'd, moſt Men about the Court would have been very ſollicitous for his Majeſty's going into *Ireland*. But his Majeſty well knew that that unhappy Kingdom muſt infallibly wait upon the fate of *England*; and therefore he reſolv'd to attend the viciſſitudes there; which, in his own thoughts, he ſtill believ'd would produce ſomewhat, in the end, of which he ſhould have the benefit; and diſmiſſed Sr *Arthur Forbes* with ſuch Letters and Commiſſions as he deſired; who there- upon return'd for *Ireland*; where he found the State of Af- fairs very much alter'd ſince his departure. For upon the Defeat of *Lambert*, and General *Monk*'s marching towards *London*, the Lord *Broghill*, and Sr *Charles Coot*, notwithſtand- ing the jealouſy that was between them, joyn'd with ſuch other Perſons who were Presbyterians, and though they had been always againſt the King, yet they all concurr'd in ſeiſing upon the Perſons who had been put in by *Lambert*, or the Rump-Parliament, and ſubmitted to the Orders of General *Monk*, the rather, becauſe they did imagine that he intended to ſerve the King; and ſo, by the time that the Parliament was to meet at *Weſtminſter*, all things were ſo well diſpoſed in *Ireland*, that it was evident they would do whatſoever the General, and the Parliament (who they preſumed would be of one mind) ſhould order them to do.

THE Parliament met upon the five and twentieth day of *April*; of which the General was return'd a Member, to ſerve as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*; Sr *Harbottle Grimſtone* was choſen Speaker, who had been a Member of the Long Parliament, and continued, rather than concurr'd, with them till after the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*; where he was one of the Commiſſioners ſent to Treat with the King, and behav'd himſelf ſo well, that his Majeſty was well ſatisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he preſs- ed the acceptance of the King's Conceſſions; and was there- upon in the Number of thoſe who were by force excluded the Houſe. His Election to be Speaker at this time was con-

The Parlia- ment met April 25. *Sir* Harbot- tle Grim- ſtone *choſen Speaker.*

triv'd by those who meant well to the King; and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs it was laid for would succeed. They begun chiefly with bitter Invectives against the Memory of *Cromwell*, as an odious and perjur'd Tyrant, with Execrations upon the unchristian Murder of the late King. And in these generals they spent the first days of sitting; no Man having the Courage, how Loyal soever their wishes were, to mention his Majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the General was of; who could only protect such a Proposition from being penal to the Person that made it, by the former Ordinances of the Rump-Parliament.

Their first Proceedings.

May the first, the General acquaints the House of Sir J. Greenvil's bringing him a Letter from the King. Sr J. Greenvil is called in, and delivers the Letter to the House of Commons.

After the General had well survey'd the temper of the House, upon the first of *May* he came into the House, and told them, "One Sr *John Greenvil*, who was a Servant of the "King's, had brought him a Letter from his Majesty; which "he had in his hands, but would not presume to open it with-"out Their direction; and that the same Gentleman was at "the door, and had a Letter to the House: which was no sooner said, than with a general Acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the Bar, he said, "That he was com-"manded by the King his Master, having been lately with "him at *Breda*, to deliver that Letter to the House: which he was ready to do; and so, giving it by the Serjeant to be deliver'd to the Speaker, he withdrew.

Both Letters, and the Declaration, read.

The House immediately call'd to have both Letters read, that to the General, and that to the Speaker; which being done, the Declaration was as greedily call'd for, and read. And from this time *Charles Stuart* was no more heard of: and so universal a Joy was never seen within those Walls; and though there were some Members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the House, nor with the Argument of it, and probably had malice enough to make within themselves the most execrable wishes, yet they had not the hardiness to appear less transported than the rest; who, not deferring it one Moment, and without one contradicting Voice, appointed a Committee to prepare an Answer to his Majesty's Letter, expressing the great and joyful sense the House had of his gracious Offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty; and that the House would give a speedy Answer to his Majesty's gracious Proposals. They likewise Order'd, at the same time, that both his Majesty's Letters, that to the House, and that to the General, with his Majesty's Declaration therein inclosed, and the Resolution of the House thereupon, should be forthwith Printed and Published.

Received with universal Joy.

A Committee appointed to prepare an Answer. All Order'd to be printed.

This

THIS kind of Reception was beyond what the beſt affected, nay even the King could expect or hope; and all that follow'd went in the ſame pace. The Lords, when they ſaw what Spirit the Houſe of Commons was poſſeſſed of, would not loſe Their ſhare of Thanks, but made haſte into their Houſe without excluding any who had been ſequeſter'd from ſitting there for their Delinquency; and then they receiv'd likewiſe their Letter from Sr *John Greenvil* which his Majeſty had directed to them; and they receiv'd it with the ſame Duty and acknowledgment. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, were likewiſe tranſported with the King's goodneſs towards them, and with the Expreſſions of his Royal Clemency; and enter'd into cloſe Deliberation, what return they ſhould make to him to manifeſt their Duty and Gratitude. And the Officers of the Army, and Fleet, upon the ſight of the Letters to their Generals, and his Majeſty's Declaration, thought themſelves highly honour'd, in that they were look'd upon as good Inſtruments of his Majeſty's Reſtoration; and made thoſe Vows, and publiſh'd ſuch Declarations of their Loyalty and Duty, as their Generals cauſed to be provided for them; which they ſign'd with the loudeſt alacrity. And the truth is, the General managed the buſineſs, which he now own'd himſelf to have undertaken, with wonderful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humour of his Officers was well known to him, ſo he remov'd ſuch from their Commands whoſe Affections he ſuſpected, and conferr'd their places upon others, of whom he was moſt aſſured. In a word, there was either real Joy in the Hearts of all Men, or at leaſt their Countenance appear'd ſuch as if they were glad at the Heart.

Sr J. Greenvil delivers the Letter to the Houſe of Lords.

The Lord Mayor, &c. receive their Letter with the ſame duty: So does the Army and Fleet.

THE Committee who were appointed by the Houſe of Commons to prepare an Anſwer to the King's Letter, found it hard to ſatisfy all Men, who were well contented that the King ſhould be invited to return: but ſome thought, that the Guilt of the Nation did require leſs precipitation than was like to be uſed; and that the Treaty ought firſt to be made with the King, and Conditions of Security agreed on, before his Majeſty ſhould be receiv'd. Many of thoſe, who had conferr'd together before the meeting of the Parliament, had deſign'd ſome Articles to be prepared, according to the Model of thoſe at *Killingworth*, in the time of King *Harry* the Third, to which the King ſhould be ſworn before he came home. Then the Presbyterian Party, of which there were many Members in Parliament, though they were rather Troubleſome than Powerful, ſeem'd very ſollicitous that ſomewhat ſhould be concluded in veneration of the Covenant; and, at leaſt, that ſomewhat ſhould be inſerted in their Anſwer to the diſcoun-

discountenance of the Bishops. But the warmer Zeal of the House threw away all those formalities and affectations: They said, "They had proceeded too far already in their Vote upon the receipt of the Letter, to fall back again, and to offend the King with colder Expressions of their Duty. In the end, after some days debate, finding an equal impatience without the Walls to that within the House, they were contented to gratify the Presbyterians in the length of the Answer, and in using some Expressions which would please Them, and could do the King no prejudice; and all agreed, that This Answer should be return'd to his Majesty, which is here inserted in the very words.

Most Royal Soveraign,

The Answer of the House of Commons to the King.

"We Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, the Commons "of *England* assembled in Parliament, do, with all humble- "ness present unto Your Majesty the unfeigned thankfulness "of Our hearts, for those gracious Expressions of Piety, and "Goodness, and Love to Us, and the Nations under Your "Dominion, which your Majesty's Letter of the $\frac{4}{14}$ of *April*, "dated from *Breda*, together with the Declaration inclosed "in it of the same date, do so evidently contain. For which "We do, in the first place, look up to the great King of Kings, "and bless his Name, who hath put these thoughts into the "Heart of Our King, to make him glorious in the Eyes of "his People; as those great Deliverances, which that Divine "Majesty hath afforded unto Your Royal Person, from many "dangers, and the support which he hath given to your He- "roick and Princely mind under various Trials, make it ap- "pear to all the World that You are precious in His sight. "And give Us leave to say, that as your Majesty is pleased to "declare Your Confidence in Parliaments, Your Esteem of "them, and this Your Judgment, and Character of them, "that they are so necessary for the Government of the King- "dom, that neither Prince nor People can be in any tolerable "degree happy without them, and therefore say, that You "will hearken unto their Councels, be tender of their Privi- "ledges, and careful to preserve, and protect them, so We "trust, and will, with all humility, be bold to affirm, that "your Majesty will not be deceiv'd in Us, and that We will "never depart from that Fidelity which We owe unto your "Majesty, that Zeal which We bear unto your Service, and "a constant endeavour to advance Your Honour and Great- "ness.

"And We beseech your Majesty, We may add this farther "for the vindication of Parliaments, and even of the last Par-

"liament,

"liament, Conven'd under your Royal Father of happy Me-
"mory, when, as your Majesty well observes, through mi-
"stakes, and misunderstandings, many inconveniencies were
"produced, which were not intended, that those very incon-
"veniencies could not have been brought upon Us by those
"Persons who had design'd them, without violating the Par-
"liament it self. For they well knew it was not possible to
"do a violence to that Sacred Person, whilst the Parliament,
"which had vowed and covenanted for the defence and safe-
"ty of that Person, remain'd entire. Surely, Sir, as the Per-
"sons of Our Kings have ever been dear unto Parliaments, so
"We cannot think of that horrid Act committed against the
"precious life of Our late Soveraign, but with such a detesta-
"tion, and abhorrency, as We want words to express it; and,
"next to wishing it had never been, We wish it may never
"be remember'd by your Majesty, to be unto you an occasion
"of sorrow, as it will never be remember'd by Us, but with
"that grief and trouble of mind which it deserves; being the
"greatest reproach that ever was incurr'd by any of the *En-*
"*glish* Nation, an Offence to all the Protestant Churches a-
"broad, and a scandal to the profession of the truth of Reli-
"gion here at home; though both Profession, and true Pro-
"fessors, and the Nation it self, as well as the Parliament,
"were most innocent of it; it having been only the Contri-
"vance and Act of some few Ambitious and Bloody Persons,
"and such others, as by Their influence were misled. And
"as We hope and pray, that God will not impute the guilt of
"it, nor of all the evil Consequences thereof, unto the Land,
"whose Divine Justice never involves the guiltless with the
"guilty, so We cannot but give due praise to your Majesty's
"goodness, who are pleased to entertain such reconciled, and
"reconciling thoughts, and with them not only meet, but as
"it were prevent your Parliament and People, proposing
"your self in a great measure, and inviting the Parliament to
"consider farther, and advise your Majesty, what may be ne-
"cessary to restore the Nation to what it hath lost, raise up
"again the Banks and Fences of it, and make the Kingdom
"happy by the advancement of Religion, the Security of
"Our Laws, Liberties, and Estates, and the removing all Jea-
"lousies and Animosities, which may render our Peace less
"certain and durable. Wherein your Majesty gives a large
"Evidence of your great Wisdom; judging aright, that, after
"so high a distemper, and such an universal shaking of the
"very foundations, great care must be had to repair the
"breaches, and much circumspection and industry used to pro-
"vide things necessary for the strengthning of those repairs,
"and preventing whatsoever may disturb or weaken them.

"We

"We shall immediately apply our selves to the preparing "of these things; and in a very short time, We hope to be "able to present them to your Majesty; and for the present "do with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge your Grace "and Favour in assuring Us of your Royal concurrence with "Us, and saying, that we shall not expect any thing from you, "but what You will be as ready to give, as We to receive. "And We cannot doubt of your Majesty's effectual perfor- "mance, since your own Princely judgment hath prompted "unto you the necessity of doing such things; and your piety "and goodness hath carried you to a free tender of them to "your faithful Parliament. You speak as a Gracious King, "and We will do what befits Dutiful, Loving, and Loyal Sub- "jects; who are yet more engaged to honour, and highly "esteem your Majesty, for your declining, as you were plea- "sed to say, all Forreign Assistance, and rather trusting to "your People; who, We do assure your Majesty, will, and "do open their Arms and their Hearts to receive you, and "will spare neither their Estates, nor their Lives, when your "Service shall require it of them.

"And We have yet more Cause to enlarge our Praise, and "our Prayers to God for your Majesty, that You have con- "tinued unshaken in your faith; that neither the temptation "of allurements, perswasions, and promises from seducing "Papist on the one hand, nor the persecution, and hard usage "from some seduced, and misguided Professors of the Prote- "stant Religion on the other hand, could at all prevail on "your Majesty, to make You forsake the Rock of *Israel*, the "God of your Fathers, and the true Protestant Religion, in "which your Majesty hath been bred; but you have still "been as a Rock Your self, firm to your Covenant with Your "and Our God, even now expressing your Zeal and Affection "for the Protestant Religion, and your care and study for the "propagation thereof. This hath been a rejoycing of heart "to all the faithful of the Land, and an Assurance to them "that God would not forsake you; but after many Tryals, "which should but make you more precious, as Gold out of "the fire, would restore your Majesty unto your Patrimony, "and People, with more Splendor and Dignity, and make "you the Glory of Kings, and the Joy of your Subjects: "which is, and shall ever be, the Prayer of your Majesty's "most Loyal Subjects the Commons of *England* assembled in "Parliament.

Which Letter was sign'd by Sr Harbottle Grimstone *Speaker.*

This Answer is deliver'd to Sir John Greenvil.

As soon as this Letter was engrossed and sign'd, Sr *John Greenvil* was appointed to attend again; and he being brought to

to the Bar, the Speaker ſtood up, and told him, "That they "need not acquaint him with what grateful hearts they had "receiv'd his Majeſty's gracious Letter; he himſelf was an "ear and eye-witneſs of it: their Bells and their Bone-fires "had already begun the Proclamation of his Majeſty's good-"neſs, and of their joys; that they had now prepared an "Anſwer to his Majeſty, which ſhould be deliver'd to him; "and that they did not think fit he ſhould return to their Royal "Soveraign without ſome teſtimony of their reſpects to him-"ſelf; and therefore that they had order'd five hundred "pounds to be deliver'd to him, to buy a Jewel to wear, as "an honour for being the Meſſenger of ſo gracious a Meſ-"ſage; and in the Name of the Houſe he gave him their moſt hearty thanks. So Great and Suddain a Change was this, that a Servant of the King's, who, for near ten years toge-ther, had been in Priſons, and under confinements, only for being the King's Servant, and would, but three Months before, have been put to have undergone a ſhameful death, if he had been known to have ſeen the King, ſhould be now re-warded for bringing a Meſſage from him. From this time there was ſuch an Emulation and Impatience in Lords, and Commons, and City, and generally over the Kingdom, who ſhould make the moſt lively Expreſſions of their Duty and of their Joy, that a Man could not but wonder where thoſe Peo-ple dwelt who had done all the miſchief, and kept the King ſo many years from enjoying the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent Subjects.

THE Lords and the Commons now conferr'd together, how they might with more Luſtre perform thoſe reſpects that might be preparatory to his Majeſty's Return. They remem-ber'd, that, upon the Murder of the late King, there was a Declaration, that no Man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture of his Eſtate, ſhould preſume to proclaim his Succeſſor; which ſo terrified the People, that they ſcarce dared ſo much as to pray for him. Wherefore, though this Parliament had now, by all the ways they could think of, publiſhed their return to their obedience, yet they thought it neceſſary, for the better information and conviction of the People, to make ſome ſo-lemn Proclamation of his Majeſty's undoubted Right to the Crown, and to oblige all Men to pay that reverence, and duty to him, which they ought to do by the Laws of God and of the Land. Whereupon they gave order to prepare ſuch a Proclamation; which being done, the Lords and Com-mons, the General having concerted all things with the City, met in *Weſtminſter*-Hall upon the 8th of *May*, within ſeven days after the receipt of the King's Letter; and walked into the *Palace*-yard; where they all ſtood bare, whilſt the He-raulds

raulds proclaim'd the King. Then they went to *White-Hall*, and did the same; and afterwards at *Temple Bar*; where the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and all the Companies of the City receiv'd them, when the like Proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the usual places of the City: which done, the remainder of the Day, and the Night, was spent in those Acclamations, Festivals, Bells and Bone-fires, as are the natural Attendants upon such Solemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his Majesty's Invitation and Reception. The Proclamation made was in these words:

The King proclaim'd May 8.

"ALTHOUGH it can no way be doubted, but that his Ma- "jesty's Right, and Title to his Crown and Kingdoms, is, "and was every way compleated by the death of his most "Royal Father of glorious Memory, without the ceremony or "solemnity of a Proclamation; yet, since Proclamations in "such Cases have been always used, to the end that all good "Subjects might, upon this occasion, testify their duty and "respect, and since the armed violence, and other the Cala- "mities of many years last past, have hitherto deprived Us "of any such opportunity, whereby We might express Our "Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majesty, We therefore, the "Lords and Commons now Assembled in Parliament, toge- "ther with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the "City of *London*, and other Freemen of this Kingdom now "present, do, according to our Duty and Allegiance, hearti- "ly, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, "that immediately upon the decease of Our late Soveraign "Lord King *Charles*, the Imperial Crown of the Realm of "*England*, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights "belonging to the same, did, by inherent Birth-right and "lawful undoubted Succession, descend and come to his most "excellent Majesty *Charles* the Second, as being lineally, just- "ly, and lawfully next Heir of the Blood Royal of this Realm; "and that, by the Goodness and Providence of Almighty "God, He is of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, the "most Potent, mighty, and undoubted King; and thereunto "We most humbly and faithfully do submit, and oblige our "Selves, our Heirs, and Posterity for ever.

Many Addresses to the King.

FROM the time that the King came to *Breda*, very few days passed without some Express from *London*, upon the observations of his Friends, and the Applications made to them by many who had been very active against the King, and were now as sollicitous his Majesty should know, that they wholly dedicated themselves to his Service. Even before the General had declared himself, or the Parliament was Assembled, some, who had sate Judges upon his Father, sent many Excuses

cuſes, that they were forced to it, and offer'd to perform ſignal Services, if they might obtain their Pardon. But his Majeſty would admit no Addreſs from them, nor hearken to any Propoſitions made on their behalf.

The particular Caſe of Ingoldsby.

THERE was one inſtance that perplexed him; which was the Caſe of Colonel *Ingoldsby*; who was in the Number of the late King's Judges, and whoſe Name was in the Warrant for his Murder. He, from the depoſal of *Richard*, had declared, that he would ſerve the King, and told Mr *Mordaunt*, "that he would perform all Services he could, without ma- "king any conditions; and would be well content, that his "Majeſty, when he came home, ſhould take his head off, if "he thought fit; only he deſired that the King might know "the truth of his Caſe; which was this.

He was a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and near ally'd to *Cromwell*, who had drawn him into the Army before, or about the time when he came firſt to Age, where he grew to be a Colonel of Horſe, and to have the Reputation of great Courage againſt the Enemy, and of equal Civility to all Men. It is very true, he was named amongſt thoſe who were appointed to be Judges of the King, and it is as true, that he was never once preſent with them, always abhorring the Action in his Heart, and having no other Paſſion in any part of the Quarrel, but his perſonal kindneſs to *Cromwell*. The next day after the Horrid Sentence was pronounced, he had an occaſion to ſpeak with an Officer, who, he was told, was in the Painted Chamber; where, when he came thither, he ſaw *Cromwell*, and the reſt of thoſe who had ſate upon the King, and were then, as he found afterwards, aſſembled to ſign the Warrant for the King's death. Aſſoon as *Cromwell's* Eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the Table; and ſaid, "Though "he had eſcaped him all the while before, he ſhould now "ſign that Paper as well as They; which he, ſeeing what it was, refuſed with great Paſſion; ſaying, "He knew nothing "of the buſineſs; and offer'd to go away. But *Cromwell*, and others, held him by Violence; and *Cromwell*, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the Pen between his Fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the reſiſtance he could: and he ſaid, "If his Name "there were compared with what he had ever writ himſelf, it "could never be look'd upon as his own hand.

THOUGH his Majeſty had within himſelf compaſſion for him, he would never ſend him any aſſurance of his Pardon; preſuming that, if all theſe Allegations were true, there would be a Seaſon when a diſtinction would be made, without his Majeſty's declaring himſelf, between him and thoſe other of that

Bloody

Bloody List, which he resolv'd never to Pardon. Nor was *Ingoldsby* at all disheartened with this, but pursued his former Resolutions, and first surprised the Castle of *Windsor* (where there was a great Magazine of Arms and Ammunition) and put out that Governour whom the Rump had put in; and afterwards took *Lambert* Prisoner, as is before remember'd

Mountague's Message to the King.

WHILST the Fleet was preparing, Admiral *Mountague* sent his Cousin *Edward Mountague* to the King, to let him know that, assoon as it should be ready, (which he hoped might be within so many days) he would be himself on Board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his Majesty's Orders: this was before the Parliament assembled. He sent word what Officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the King had any Assurance of the General, who however, he wish'd, might know nothing of his Resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his Majesty, that, he was restrain'd from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other; which might have facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all Men, would not permit that liberty to his Majesty.

THE frequent resort of Persons to *Brussels*, before they knew of the King's being gone to *Breda*, and their Communication of the good News they brought to his Majesty's Servants, and the other *English* who remain'd there, and who publish'd what they wish'd, as to come to pass, as well as what they heard, made the *Spanish* Ministers begin to think, that the King's Affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagin'd them to be, and that there was more in the King's remove to *Breda* than at first appear'd. They had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his Majesty to remain in their Dominions, as they had done when his presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of no such thing, but of greater resort thither to the King, and that he had staid longer there than he had seem'd to intend to do, the Marquis of *Carracena* sent a Person of prime Quality to *Breda*, "To invite his Majesty to return to "*Brussels*; the rather, because he had receiv'd some very "hopeful Propositions from *England*, to which he was not "willing to make any Answer, without receiving his Majesty's "Approbation and Command.

The Marquis of Carracena invites the King back to Brussels.

The King's Answer.

THE King sent him word, "That he was obliged, with re- "ference to his business in *England*, to stay where he was; "and that he was not without hope that his Affairs might suc- "ceed

"ceed ſo well, that he ſhould not be neceſſitated to return "to *Bruſſels* at all. Which Anſwer the Marquis no ſooner receiv'd, than he return'd the ſame Meſſenger with a kind of Expoſtulation "For the indignity that would be offer'd to his "Catholick Majeſty, if he ſhould leave his Dominions in ſuch "a Manner; and therefore beſought him, either to return "himſelf thither, or that the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of "*Gloceſter*, or at leaſt one of them; might come to *Bruſ-*"*ſels*, that the world might not believe, that his Majeſty was "offended with the Catholick King; who had treated him "ſo well. When he found that he was to receive no ſatiſ-faction in either of thoſe particulars, though the King, and both the Dukes made their excuſes with all poſſible acknow-ledgement of the favours they had receiv'd from his Catho-lick Majeſty, and of the Civilities ſhewed to them by the Mar-quis himſelf, he reveng'd himſelf upon *Don Alonzo* with a million of reproaches, "For his ſtupidity and ignorance in "the Affairs of *England*, and of every thing relating there-"unto, after having reſided ſixteen years Embaſſadour in that "Kingdom.

The Marquis invites the King again but in vain.

CARDINAL *Mazarin* had better Intelligence from the *French* Embaſſadour in *London*; who gave him diligent ac-counts of every days alteration, and of the general imagina-tion that *Monk* had other Intentions than he yet diſcover'd. And when he heard that the King was remov'd from *Bruſſels* to *Breda*, he preſently perſwaded the Queen Mother of *Eng-land* to ſend the Lord *Jermyn* (whom the King had lately upon his Mother's deſire, Created Earl of St *Albans*) to in-vite the King "To come into *France*; and to make that Trea-"ty, which, probably, would be between the enſuing Par-"liament and his Majeſty, in that Kingdom; which might "prove of great uſe and advantage to her Majeſty's Intereſt, "and Honour; in which the power of the Cardinal might "be of great importance in diverting, or allaying any inſolent "Demands which might be made. And the Cardinal himſelf made the ſame Invitation by that Lord, with profeſſions of wonderful kindneſs; and "That the moſt Chriſtian King was "infinitely deſirous to perform all thoſe Offices and Reſpects "to his Majeſty, which he had always deſired, but was never "able to accompliſh till Now; with this Addition, "That if "his Majeſty found that the expedition of his Affairs would not "permit him to come to *Paris*, Order and Preparations ſhould "be made for his reception at *Calais*, or any other place he "would appoint; where the Queen his Mother would attend "him; with all other expreſſions of the higheſt Eſteem; which the cunning of that great Miniſter was plentifully ſup-plied with.

Cardinal Mazarin perſwades the Queen Mother of England to ſend the Lord Jermyn to in-vite the King to come into France.

THE Earl of St *Albans* found the King in too good a posture of hope and expectation, to suffer himself to be much importuned upon the Instances he brought; and was contented to return with the King's acknowledgments and excuse, "That he could not decently pass through *Flanders*, af- "ter he had refused to return to *Brussels*; and without going "through those Provinces, he could not well make a Journey "into *France*. In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his Majesty, to find himself so solemnly invited, by the Ministers of these two great Kings, to enter into their Dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities; and with so much caution and apprehension had been suffer'd to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his Journey.

The King's Answer.

SEVERAL Persons now came to *Breda*, not, as heretofore to *Cologne*, and to *Brussels*, under disguises, and in fear to be discover'd, but with bare Faces, and the Pride and Vanity to be taken notice of, to present their Duty to the King; some being imploy'd to procure Pardon for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good Presents in *English* Gold to the King, that their Names, and the Names of their Friends, who sent them, might be remember'd amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their Affections that way to his Majesty, by supplying his Necessities; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believ'd, and ought not to be remember'd. By these Supplies his Majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his Servants the Arrears of their Board Wages, but to give them all some Testimony of his Bounty, to raise their Spirits after so many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this was before the delivery of the King's Letter by the General to the Parliament.

The States General congratulate the King's coming to Breda; *and the States of* Holland *invite him to the* Hague.

THE King had not been many days in *Breda*, before the States General sent Deputies of their own Body to Congratulate his Majesty's Arrival in their Dominions, and to acknowledge the great Honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other Deputies came from the States of *Holland*, beseeching his Majesty, "That he would Grace that Province "with his Royal Presence at the *Hague*, where Preparations "should be made for his Reception, in such a manner as "would testify the great joy of their Hearts for the blessings "which Divine Providence was pouring upon his Head. His Majesty accepting their invitation, they return'd in order to make his Journey thither, and his Entertainment there, equal to their Professions.

IN

In the mean time *Breda* ſwarm'd with *Engliſh*, a multitude repairing thither from all other places, as well as *London*, with Preſents, and Proteſtations, "How much they had longed, "and prayed for this bleſſed Change; and magnifying their "Sufferings under the late Tyrannical Government; when ſome of them had been zealous Inſtruments and Promoters of it. The Magiſtrates of the Town took all imaginable care to expreſs their Devotion to the King, by uſing all Civilities towards, and providing for the Accommodation of the multitude of his Subjects, who reſorted thither to expreſs their Duty to him. So that no Man would have imagin'd by the treatment he now receiv'd, that he had been ſo lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the diſaffection of the Inhabitants of that good Town, who had always paſſion for his Proſperity, and even then publickly deteſted the rudeneſs of their Superiours, whom they were bound to Obey.

The King removes to the Hague.

All things being in readineſs, and the States having ſent their Yatchts and other Veſſels, for the Accommodation of his Majeſty and his Train, as near to *Breda*, as the River would permit, the King, with his Royal Siſter and Brothers, left that place in the beginning of *May*; and, within an hour, Embarked themſelves on Board the Yatchts, which carried him to *Rotterdam*; *Dort*, and the other places near which they paſſed, making all thoſe Expreſſions of Joy, by the conflux of the People to the Banks of the River, and all other ways, which the Situation of thoſe places would ſuffer. At *Rotterdam* they enter'd into their Coaches; from whence to the *Hague* they ſeem'd to paſs through one continued Street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the People on both ſides, with ſuch Acclamations of Joy, as if Themſelves were now reſtored to a Peace and Security.

The Entrance into the *Hague*, and the Reception there, and the Conducting his Majeſty to the Houſe provided for his Entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all reſpects anſwerable to the Pomp, Wealth, and Greatneſs of that State. The Treatment of his Majeſty, and all who had relation to his Service, at the States Charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and ſplendid; and the univerſal Joy ſo viſible, and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own Subjects. The States-General, in a Body, and the States of *Holland*, in a Body apart, perform'd their Compliments with all Solemnity; and then ſeveral Perſons, according to their Faculties, made their profeſſion; and a ſet number of them was appointed always to wait in the Court, to receive his Majeſty's Commands. All the Embaſſadours and publick Miniſters of King's

Princes and States, repaired to his Majesty, and professed the joy of their Masters on his behalf: so that a Man would have thought this Revolution had been brought to pass by the general Combination, and Activity of *Christendom*, that appear'd now to take so much pleasure in it.

The English Fleet comes on the Coast of Holland.

THE King had been very few days at the *Hague*, when he heard that the *English* Fleet was in sight of *Scheveling*; and shortly after, an Officer from Admiral *Mountague* was sent to the King, to present his Duty to him, and to the Duke of *York*, their High Admiral, to receive Orders. Assoon as *Mountague* came on Board the Fleet in the *Downs*, and found *Lawson* and the other Officers more frank in declaring their Duty to the King, and Resolution to serve Him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the Parliament to his Majesty, but to be carried by his own Affection and Duty, witout expecting any Command from Them, the Wind coming fair, he set up his Sails, and stood for the Coast of *Holland*, leaving only two or three of the lesser Ships to receive their Orders, and to bring over those Persons, who, he knew, were design'd to wait upon his Majesty; which Expedition was never forgiven him by some Men; who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

The Duke of York as Admiral takes possession of the Fleet.

THE Duke of *York* went the next day on Board the Fleet, to take Possession of his Command; where he was receiv'd by all the Officers and Seamen, with all possible Duty and Submission, and with those Acclamations which are peculiar to that People, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving Information of the state of the Fleet, and a Catalogue of the Names of the several Ships, his Highness return'd with it that Night to the King, that his Majesty might make alterations, and new Christen those Ships which too much preserv'd the memory of the late Governours, and of the Republick.

The Ships new named.

The Committee of Lords and Commons arrive at the Hague.

SHORTLY after, the Committee of Lords and Commons arriv'd at the *Hague*; where the States took care for their decent Accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to his Majesty; who immediately receiv'd them very graciously. From the House of Peers were deputed six of their Body, and, according to custom, twelve of the Commons. The Peers were, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, and *Middlesex*, the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord *Berkley* of *Berkley* Castle, and the Lord *Brook*. From the Commons were sent, the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Castleton*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandevil*, *Denzil Hollis*, Sr *Horatio Townsend*, Sr *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sr *George Booth*, Sr *John Holland*, and Sr *Henry Cholmeley*.

Cholmeley. These Persons presented the humble invitation and supplication of the Parliament, "That his Majesty would "be pleased to Return, and take the Government of the King-"dom into his hands; where he should find all possible Af-"fection, Duty, and Obedience, from all his Subjects. And lest his Return so much longed for might be retarded by the want of Money, to discharge those debts, which he could not but have contracted, they presented from the Parliament the Sum of fifty thousand pounds to his Majesty; having likewise Order to pay the Sum of ten thousand pounds to the Duke of *York*, and five thousand to the Duke of *Gloucester*; which was a very good Supply to their several Necessities. The King treated all the Committee very graciously together, and every one of them severally and particularly very obligingly. So that some of them, who were conscious to themselves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that they were not to fear any bitterness from so Princely, and so Generous a Nature.

The City of London send 14 of their Citizens.

THE City of *London* had had too great a hand in driving the Father of the King from thence, not to appear equally Zealous for his Son's return thither. And therefore they did, at the same time, send fourteen of the most Substantial Citizens "To assure his Majesty of their Fidelity, and most "chearful Submission; and that they placed all their Felicity, "and hope of future Prosperity in the assurance of his Ma-"jesty's Grace and Protection; for the meriting whereof, "their Lives and Fortunes should be always at his Majesty's "disposal; and they presented to him from the City the Sum of ten thousand pounds. The King told them, "He "had always had a particulal Affection for the City of *Lon-"don*, the place of his Birth; and was very glad, that they "had now so good a part in his Restoration; of which he "was inform'd; and how much he was beholding to every "one of them; for which he thanked them very graciously, and Knighted them all; an Honour no Man in the City had receiv'd in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

IT will hardly be believ'd, that this Money presented to the King by the Parliament and the City, and charged by Bills of Exchange upon the richest Merchants in *Amsterdam*, who had vast Estates, could not be receiv'd in many days, though some of the principal Citizens of *London*, who came to the King, went themselves to sollicite it, and had Credit enough themselves for much greater Sums, if they had brought over no Bills of Exchange. But this was not the first time (of which somewhat hath been said before) that it was evident to the King, that it is not easy in that most

opulent City, with the help of all the rich Towns adjacent, and upon the greateſt Credit, to draw together a great Sum of ready Money; the Cuſtom of that Country, which flouriſhes ſo much in Trade, being to make their Payments in Paper by Aſſignations; they having very rarely occaſion for a great Sum in any one particular place. And ſo at this time his Majeſty was compell'd that he might not defer the Voyage he ſo impatiently longed to make, to take Bills of Exchange from *Amſterdam* upon their Correſpondents in *London*, for above thirty thouſand pounds of the Money that was aſſign'd; all which was paid in *London* aſſoon as demanded.

Divers Presbyterian Divines came alſo.

WITH theſe Commiſſioners from the Parliament and from the City, there came a Company of their Clergy-men, to the Number of eight or ten; who would not be look'd upon as Chaplains to the reſt, but being the Popular Preachers of the City (*Reynolds*, *Calamy*, *Caſe*, *Manton*; and others, the moſt eminent of the Presbyterians) deſired to be thought to repreſent that Party. They intreated to be admitted all together to have a formal Audience of his Majeſty; where they preſented their Duties, and magnified the Affections of themſelves and their Friends; who, they ſaid, "Had always, ac-
Their publick Audience of the King.
"cording to the obligation of their Covenant, wiſh'd his Ma-
"jeſty very well; and had lately, upon the opportunity that
"God had put into their hands, inform'd the People of their
"Duty; which, they preſumed, his Majeſty had heard had
"proved effectual, and been of great uſe to him. They thanked God "For his Conſtancy to the Proteſtant Religion; and profeſſed, "That they were no Enemies to moderate Epiſ-
"copacy; only deſired that ſuch things might not be preſſed
"upon them in God's Worſhip, which in their judgment, who
"uſed them, were acknowledged to be matters indifferent, and
"by others were held unlawful.

THE King ſpoke very kindly to them; and ſaid, "That
"he had heard of their good behaviour towards him; and
"that he had no purpoſe to impoſe hard Conditions upon
"them, with reference to their Conſciences: that they well
"knew he had referr'd the ſettling all differences of that
"Nature to the Wiſdom of the Parliament; which beſt knew
"what Indulgence and Toleration; was neceſſary for the
And their private diſcourſes alſo with him.
"Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom. But his Majeſty could
not be ſo rid of them; they deſired ſeveral private Audiences
of him; which he never denied; wherein they told him,
"the Book of Common-Prayer had been long diſcontinued
"in *England*, and the People having been diſuſed to it, and
"many of them having never heard it in their Lives, it
"would be much wonder'd at, if his Majeſty ſhould, at his

"firſt

"first Landing in the Kingdom, revive the use of it in "his own Chappel; whither all Persons would resort; and "therefore they besought him, that he would not use it en- "tirely and formally, but have only some parts of it read, "with mixture of other good Prayers, which his Chaplains "might use.

THE King told them with some warmth, "That whilst he "gave Them liberty, he would not have his own taken from "him: that he had always used that form of Service, which "he thought the best in the world, and had never disconti- "nued it in Places where it was more disliked than he hoped "it was by Them: that when he came into *England* he would "not severely inquire how it was used in other Churches, "though he doubted not he should find it used in many; but "he was sure he would have no other used in his own Chappel. *His Majesty's Reply to them.*

Then they besought him with more importunity, "That the "use of the Surplice might be discontinued by his Chaplains, "because the sight of it would give great offence, and scandal "to the People. They found the King as inexorable in that "point as in the other; He told them plainly, "That he would "not be restrain'd Himself, when he gave others so much li- "berty; that it had been always held a decent habit in the "Church, constantly practiced in *England* till these late ill "times; that it had been still retain'd by him; and though "he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and "undecency in the exercise of God's Worship, he would ne- "ver, in the least degree, by his own practice, discounte- "nance the good old Order of the Church, in which he had "been bred. Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexibile, yet they ceased farther troubling him, in hope, and presumption, that they should find their importunity in *England* more ef- fectual.

AFTER eight or ten days spent at the *Hague* in Triumphs and Festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the Monarchs of *Europe* had met there, and which were concluded with several rich Presents made to his Majesty, the King took his leave of the States, with all the professions of Amity their Civilities deserv'd, and Embark'd himself on the *Royal Charles*; which had been before call'd the *Naseby*, but had been new Christen'd the day before, as many others had been, in the presence, and by the order of his Royal High- ness the Admiral. Upon the four and twentieth day of *May*, the Fleet set Sail; and, in one continued thunder of Cannon, arriv'd near *Dover* so early on the six and twentieth, that his Majesty disembark'd; and being receiv'd by the General at the brink of the Sea (whom he met, and embraced, with great

The King embarks for England. And the Fleet sets Sail May 24. *The King arrives and lands at* Dover May 26, *and went to* Canterbu- ry *that Night.*

great demonstration of affection) he presently took Coach, and came that Night to *Canterbury*; where he staid the next day, being *Sunday*; and went to his Devotions to the Cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the People seem'd glad to hear the Common-Prayer again. Thither came very many of the Nobility, and other Persons of Quality, to present themselves to the King; and there his Majesty assembled his Council; and swore the General of the Council, and Mr *Morrice*, whom he there Knighted, and gave him the Signet, and swore him Secretary of State. That day his Majesty gave the Garter to the General, and likewise to the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton* (who had been elected many years before) and sent it likewise by *Garter*, Herauld and King at Arms, to Admiral *Mountague*, who remain'd in the *Downs*.

May 29. He came thro' the City to White-Hall.

On *Monday* He went to *Rochester*; and the next day, being the nine and twentieth of *May*, and his Birth-day, he enter'd *London*; all the ways thither being so full of People, and Acclamations; as if the whole Kingdom had been gather'd there. Between *Deptford* and *Southwark* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met him, with all such Protestations of joy as can hardly be imagin'd. The Concourse was so great, that the King rode in a croud from the Bridge to *White-Hall*; all the Companies of the City standing in order on both sides, and giving loud thanks to God for his Majesty's Presence. He no sooner came to *White-Hall*, but the two Houses of Parliament solemnly cast themselves at his Feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the Joy was so unexpressible, and so universal, that his Majesty said smilingly to some about him, "He doubted it had been his own fault "he had been absent so long; for he saw no body that did not "protest, he had ever wished for his Return.

Where the two Houses waited on him.

The Conclusion of the whole History.

In this wonderful manner, and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a Rebellion that had raged near twenty Years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of Murder, Devastation, and Parricide, that Fire and Sword, in the hands of the most wicked Men in the world, could be Instruments of; almost to the desolation of two Kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third.

It was but five Months, since *Lambert*'s Fanatical Army was scatter'd and confounded, and General *Monk*'s march'd into *England*: it was but three Months, since the secluded Members were restored; and shortly after, the monstrous long Parliament finally dissolv'd, and rooted up: it was but a Month, since the King's Letters and Declaration were deliver'd to the new Parliament, afterwards call'd the *Convention*:

tion: on the first of *May* they were deliver'd, and his Majesty was at *White-Hall* on the 29th of the same Month.

By these remarkable Steps, among others, did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only bind up and heal all those Wounds, but even make the Scars as undiscernable, as, in respect of the deepness, was possible; which was a glorious addition to the Deliverance. And, after this miraculous Restoration of the Crown, and the Church, and the just Rights of Parliaments, no Nation under Heaven can ever be more happy, if God shall be pleased to add Establishment and Perpetuity to the Blessings he then restored.

THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.

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